CHAPTER VI

The Dreams and Visions of an Uwaisî Sufi in Mîr Muhammad Hâshim's
Malfûzât-i Saiyid Ḥasan Rasûlnuma

We are fortunate to have a full hagiographical treatment of an Uwaisî sufi Saiyid Ḥasan (d. Sh’aban A.H. 1103/May A.D. 1692), who came from Narnaul and settled in Delhi during the reign of the Mughal king Shâhjahân (r. A.D. 1627-1658). In the medieval sources he is mentioned, invariably, by his laqab (title) 'Rasûlnuma' or 'guide to the Prophet', since it was commonly believed that he enabled people to have visions of Prophet Muhammad. The details about the life and sayings (malfûz) of this sufi have been recorded by one of his successors, Saiyid Muhammad Hâshim bin Muhammad Qâsim Ḥusanî usainî Najafî, in the Manâqib al Ḥasan wa Fawâ’îh al irfân. Although, Muhammad Hâshim does not give any date for the completion of the Manâqib, one can safely infer from textual reference that its compilation had started around A.D. 1678 when Awrangzeb departed for the Deccan, and since the author was involved in this task for at least thirteen years, ending his narrative with the notice of his Shaikh’s death in A.D. 1692, the Manâqib was concluded subsequently in the same year.¹ So far, I am not aware of any published edition of the text. But I have seen a microfilm of a Persian manuscript entitled Malfûzât-i Ḥazrat Saiyid Ḥasan Rasûlnuma authored by Mîr Saiyid

¹ Saiyid Muhammad Hâshim, Manâqib al Ḥasan wa fawâ’îh al irfân translated into Urdu by Ḫâdir Bakhsh as Manâqib al Saiyid Ḥasan Rasûlnuma, Lâhor: 1921, reprint Karachi, not dated, pp. 94-95; a chronogram for the date of completion is mentioned Saiyid Hâshim that gives the date as A.H. 1104, see p. 431 of reprint edition.
Hashim Sirhindî in the Institute of Islamic Studies at Jamia Hamdard, New Delhi, which is the Persian text of *Manāqib al Ḥasan wa Fawāʾīḥ al ʿirfān*. Another text by the name of *Faizān-i Ḥasan Rasūlmunā*, supposedly containing details other than mentioned in the *Manāqib*, was in the process of being compiled when its compiler Mīr Hāshim died. The *Faizān* was finally completed by the author’s son and disciple, Saiyid Najibuddin, during the reign of Muhammad Shāh. The *Faizān*, which comprises of forty-one brief chapters each called *faiz* (literally, grace), offers little new substance, except for the notices of some contemporary sufi associates of Saiyid Ḥasan, and mostly elaborates on information already mentioned in the *Manāqib*.

2 A copy of the Persian original text by the name of *Malfizat-i Ḥaḍrat Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlmunā* is preserved in the Central Library of Jamia Hamdard at New Delhi. The original manuscript (Acc. No. 3791) was not available in the library but fortunately it had been preserved in microfilm (I.I.I.S No. 52). I may mention at this point that there is some confusion about the untraced manuscript as the published catalogue of the library, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Manuscript in the Library of Jamia Hamdard, New Delhi: Iran Culture House, 1999*, identifies the same manuscript by a different accession no. 2185. Nevertheless, the preserved microfilm is of a manuscript (Acc. No. 3791) that is copied by Saiyid Muhammad Nizamuddin Hanafi Naqshbandi Ḥaḍrat and is dated 28 Rabiu’l ṣāni A.H. 1300/A.D. 1883. It is divided into two volumes containing 333 pages (of mostly 15 lines a page) segmented into fifteen chapters - each called *fa’iḥ*. Unfortunately, the manuscript is not complete and the copyist towards the end has made a note on the margin and has expressed his regret about the missing pages (one page with record of Saiyid Ḥasan’s disciples in the 15th *fa’iḥ*, and the last page). He has left sufficient space to make a note of them in future if he discovers them. At this point I may mention that there are some discrepancies observed between this manuscript and the Urdu translation that may indicate further loss of pages from the text. For example the first *fa’iḥ* of the Persian original is much briefer than its translation and a stray page of 18 lines noting the circumstance of the Shaikh’s departure from Akbarābād back to Narnaul, and then to Delhi is attached at the beginning before the *Bismillāh*. This page is a fair-copy of notings made by the copyist that he could not incorporate in the first *fa’iḥ* of the text; the author’s preface and introduction are also missing. Therefore, at places I have been forced to cite reference from the Urdu translation without citing corresponding references from the Persian original. As such, all references to the *Malfizat-i Ḥaḍrat Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlmunā* (henceforth *Malfizat*), and the volumes indicated in Roman numbers I & II) in this chapter shall be to the Jamia Hamdard’s microfilm I.I.I.S No. 52, alongwith with references to the reprint of the Urdu translation (hereafter referred as *Manāqib*) mentioned above.

3 Saiyid Najibuddin ibn Mīr Muhammad Hāshim’s *Faizān-i-Ḥasan Rasūlmunā*, translated into Urdu by Sharīf Ḥusain Qāsimī, Karachi: not dated.

Within the expanse of a monograph based largely on the hagiographical representation by Muhammad Hāshim who addresses his Shaikh as *sar-i halqa-i fuqrā’ Dīhlī Haẓrat Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlnumā Uwais-i Sānī* (the leader of the group of mendicants of Delhi Saiyid Ḥasan ‘Rasūlnumā’, the Second Uwais), I shall attempt to study the diverse activities of this Shaikh whom memory records as a Malāmatī and Uwaisī sufi. In this endeavor I hope to bring forward the processes through which Saiyid Ḥasan acquired the status of one of the most enigmatic religious figures in the seventeenth century society of the Mughal capital of Shāhjahānābād. I wish to focus on two elements which are crucial to this work: its presentation of an ideal Uwaisī through the anecdotal references to Saiyid Ḥasan, and its description of dreams to illustrate the image of this sufi as an Uwaisī *par excellance*.

The *Malfūzāt-i Haẓrat Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlnumā* is unique within the hagiographical corpus of the subcontinent sampled in the Introduction.5 It does not belong to the spectrum of collective hagiographies, but is typical of the *Manāqīb*6 which is dedicated to one sufi, focusing exclusively on his life, sayings, dreams, and activities along with the mention of his disciples. Although, in structure and content the work resembles other individual biographies of saints there are divergences from the customised pattern that make this work stand apart from the known hagiographical traditions mentioned above. The representation of a sufi shaikh in medieval Persian

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5 See the section on sources in the Introduction above.
biographical notices and individual biographies is usually governed by a code of conventions. The most common character and most basic convention in Islamic biographies is their structure. In the first place biographies are organised according to topics and not along chronological lines. Muhammad Hashim opens his account with an introduction and goes on to relate the story of his pīr and his fellow murīds in fifteen chapters (each called a fā‘īl), ending his narrative with a khatima (epilogue). The organizational principle of the text is largely thematic and not chronological. The author begins with some details about the initial life of his Shaikh in Narnaul, but information like his date of birth, physical genealogy and spiritual antecedants, which are vital ingrediants in the formulaic representation of a biographical notice, are missing. Modern scholars have argued that such thematic representation indicates that the main concern of the author is not with the unique development of the individual’s character, worldview, or

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6 Manāqib (plural substansive) represents a genre of biographical works of a laudatory nature, which have become part of hagiographical literature in Arabic, Persian and Turkic. Cf. Ch. Pellat, “Manakib” in *EF*, vol. 6 (1991), pp. 349-357.


8 Historians of Arabic literature, like Hamilton Gibb, basing his observations on al Sakhawi has defined the organizing principle of a biography according to a set formula “who, when, where, intellectual powers, reputation”. This formulaic understanding makes the biography a technical apparatus that relates only factual information without any scope for personal judgements of writers. This view sparked a debate among scholars about the nature of Arabic biographical genre whether it reflects literary conventions or can it reflect a “sense of personality”? Gibb’s article drew mixed reactions from scholars who argued both for and against his premise. We need not elaborate on the complexities of Arabic literary studies here, but for the fact that our present discussion involves a special category of Persian biographical literature which is heir to Arabic literary formulations, and hence it should be subject to similar questioning about issues raised since Gibb’s article, “Islamic Biographical Literature” in *Historians of the Middle East, op. cit.*, pp. 54-58.
emotions, but is with the “exemplary message conveyed by the events he is narrating”. In our case the message will be the dream discipleship of Prophet Muhammad.

Diverging from the prevailing hagiographical style in those days, the *Malfuẓat* does not project *silsila* as the dominant style of Saiyid Hasan’s practice, instead it casts a particular style of spiritual discipline of the Uwaisī into focus. This is not to suppose that the biography or its subject stands in religious isolation of the Sufism of that day, as is the case of, for instance, DeWeese’s rural Uwaisī Saiyid Ahmad Bashīrī of the middle Kashkā Daryā valley in Central Asia. In contrast, ‘Rasūlnūmā’s’ Uwaisī identity is not the cause for his isolation and is, on the contrary, reason for his fame in the urban

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11 We come across biographical notices of Saiyid Hasan ‘Rasūlnūma’ in contemporary historiographical texts. In his account of the 51st reignal year, i.e. A.H. 1118/A.D. 1706, of Awrangzeb, Khān’s, *Muntakhabu’l lubāb*, Bibliotheca Indica, vol. 60/2a, Biblio Verag Osnabruck, 1983, reprint of Calcutta edition (1868-1874), pp.552-553; *Chahārgulshan* contains a general history and topography of India and was written by Chaturman, a Kāyastha of the Saxena tribe at the time of the second invasion of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī. The final arrangement of the text was carried out by his grandson, Rāi Khān Munshī, called Raizada during the reign of the Mughal Sultan Shāhjahān Sānī at the behest of Ghazi Khān, alias Shihābuddīn Khān Bahadur, in A.H. 1173/A.D. 1759. The book is divided into 4 sections which contain details of sūbāhs of Hindūstān; sūbāhs of Deccan; itineraries from Delhi to various parts of India; orders of Muslim and Hindū faqīrs (mendicants). I have referred to a manuscript of *Chahārgulshan* (Acc. No. 37) in the Central Library of Jamia Hamdard University, New Delhi. The text is in a reasonably good condition, but is occasionally smudged, especially the last three lines of the manuscript’s folio 91a that should contain the name of the copyist. Reference to Saiyid Hasan ‘Rasūlnūma’ is available on folio 14a in the first section on the sūbāhs of Hind and not in the last section on the mendicants as one would naturally expect to find; Shāh Wali Allāh Dihlawī, *Al Taťhimat al Ilahiya*, ed. by Ghulām Mustafa Qāsimī, Hyderabad, Sindh: Shāh Wali Allāh Academy, 1975, pp.156-157; Hābīb’Allāh’s *Zikr jam’m adliyā’i Dihlī*, ed. by Sharīf usain Qāsimī, Delhi: New Public Press, 1987-88, pp.102-104, 107, 119, 121; Ghulām Sarwar ‘Lāhorī’, *Khazinatu’l asfiyā*, vol. 1, Kanpur: Nawal Kishore, A.H. 1312/A.D. 1894, p. 180; Saiyid Ahmad Khān, *Aṣār as Sanāidid*, Delhi: Central Book Depot, 1965, pp. 290 & 293; Mirzā Sangīn Beg, *Sairu’l manazil*, ed. by Sharīf Husain Qāsimī, Delhi: Ghalib Institute, 1982.
milieu of Shāhjahānābād, the capital of the seventeenth century Mughal Empire, where our Shaikh beholds the right to refuse audience to members of the ruling elite.

The second feature of biographical presentation is that an individual is usually depicted according to his spiritual stations and role attributed to him by the biographer. Following literary convention the author strives to present an individual historical figure in an idealized form by attributing to him a role model. In fact, Muhammad Hāshim Sirhindī has created the image of an ideal Uwaisī with a set of traditions in Islamic literature that characterize Uwais Qaranī as the prototype Uwaisī. The most noteworthy of these traditions is Uwais’s spiritual communication with Muhammad without any physical contact; his intense love for the Prophet that made him break his own teeth; his zuhd (asceticism) is characterised by self-denial, bodily abstinence and poverty (evident from his naked and shoeless appearance); elements of insane behaviour as displayed by the 'uqalā‘-i-majanin (wise fools) including theopathic utterances in state of ecstasy and harsh speech to discourage company of the rich; and desire for solitude.12 Apart from these what, however, defines the Uwaisī character of Saiyid Ḥasan in a unique way is that unlike other biographical notices of shaikhs who claim Uwaisī style inspiration, there is no list of sufi elders from whom Saiyid Ḥasan received instruction and initiation with links going back to Prophet Muhammad. The alternate offered by Saiyid Ḥasan is a style of spirituality which is not beholden to any initiatic chains of transmission as it inspires direct communication with the ultimate intercessor for Muslims - Prophet Muhammad - through the medium of dreams. There is no reference to incidence of bai‘at (giving hand

12 For the legend of Uwais Qaranī and the notion of the Uwaisī sufis see Chapter IV, section I, above.
in discipleship) by Saiyid Hasan; nor is there any legal proof of document of succession (khilâfatnâma) or letter granting permission for instruction (ijâzatnâma) for him; and although the Malfuzât contains notices of several disciples of this Shaikh there is no description of any conventional initiations conducted by him. In view of the absence of these otherwise standardized features in a sufi biography, it would be easy to dismiss Saiyid Hasan and his biography as ‘dead ends’ in terms of the on going sufi tradition of sîsilâ affiliation and its continuation after his death. But the shajara’i bai’at received by the translator from the Shaikh’s dargâh at Delhi would classify him as a Qâdirî, even though there is not a single reference in the entire text that alludes to his Qâdirî affiliation. What Saiyid Hasan, however, shares with his Central Asian counterpart, Ahmad Bashîrî, is that his biographer explicitly and repeatedly portrayed him as an Uwaisî, that is, as is specified in the work itself, one who has no earthly master but claims direct guidance and initiation from Prophet Muhammad. This, however, does not mean that the depiction of Saiyid Hasan, other individuals, and events in the Malfuzât-i Saiyid Hasan Rasûlnumâ is solely dictated by ‘literary etiquette’ whereby the author represents


\[14\] S. A. A. Rizvi has observed that Saiyid Hasan’s Qâdirî affiliation was a consequence of his studentship at Jaunpur in the seminary of Shaikh ‘Abdu’l Rashîd, see his A History of Sufism in India, vol. 2, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1983, p. 101. Except for a scant biographical notice of the Shaikh from the nineteenth century in the margin of Ghulâm Sarwar’s Khazinatu’l asfiyyâ, all contemporary sources mentioned in footnote 11 refer to him as a Malâmâtî and an Uwaisî sufi. A na’t composed by Saiyid Hasan states that his pîr and guide is Bahâ’uddîn, which probably refers to Saiyid Hasan’s Uwaisî initiation through Bahâ’uddîn Naqshband, Manâqîb, op.cit, p. 432.

\[15\] This phraseology is borrowed from E. A. Polyakova’s study of the portrayal of the image of an ideal monarch in medieval Persian chronicles where the historian’s depiction of real people and events is dictated by literary etiquette, that is the literary canon, which often compromises a naturalistic representation of reality. Reality as observed by the writer is transformed into models that correspond to the normative values of medieval social structure. In other words the author represents a ‘canonized’ view of reality, because he
a standardized view of reality. Besides, the *Malfūgāt* is a rich source of information which also diverges from convention and offers a glance at some intimate aspects of Saiyid Ḥasan’s personality and society of his time.

To the extent that the biographer depicts real persons and narrates actual events his work cannot technically be defined as a work of fiction. Concessions, however, have to be made for exaggerations that result from the biographer’s imagination. This brings us to the third characteristic feature of the medieval Persian hagiographical literature, that is stories about the sufi’s extraordinary capabilities, which enabled him to know or do things outside the grasp of other human beings, which are seen as *karāmāt*¹⁶ (signs of God’s favour) granted to the sufi as a mark of honour. The role and significance of these have been subject to some debate among the sufis, the scholars of Islamic religious sciences, and the philosophers. Notwithstanding their intellectual disputes, popular belief regarded *karāmat* as a vital proof of a *wali’s* (saint) spiritual status, of his closeness to God and His Prophet. In our case the extraordinary ability of Saiyid Ḥasan ‘Rasūlnumā’ which is most often put on display is his ability to communicate with Prophet Muhammad in dreams and enable others to have a vision of the same.

In the following pages I shall concentrate on the two most captivating elements in the *Malfūgāt* the portrayal of Saiyid Ḥasan as an ideal Uwaisī, in fact, his depiction as *Uwais-i sānī*, or the second Uwais in the footsteps of Uwais Qaranī; and the use of

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dreams to illustrate the Shaikh’s Uwaisī phenomenon. Before examining the evidence to this effect it would, perhaps, be useful to make a brief comment on how scholars of medieval Indian history have used sufi literature. Among the earliest attempts to use biographical material from the corpus of sufi literature - comprising of various genres such as tażkira (biography), malfūz (account of written discourses), Maktūbāt (letters), rasa’il (treatises), poetic compositions - for reconstruction of the religious and social history of Islam in India was made by the late Professors Muhammad Habib and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami.¹⁷ For quite sometime the historian’s approach was guided by patterns defined in their writings which maintained a scrupulous observation of the factual data in authentic (as distinct from the apocryphal) source material for outlining life sketches of individual sufis with underlying emphasis on certain activities, as well as for establishing chronological narrative of sufi orders in the subcontinent. Their writings, however, resulted in creating a cliche view about the sufis who were divided into the ‘liberal’ and the ‘orthodox’ categories. Those who made concessions to the Indian environment were defined as ‘liberal’ and those who did not were called ‘orthodox’. Arguing against the conventional representation of sufis and their stereotype attitude Simon Digby¹⁸ has

¹⁸ For a more rounded view of the Sufi personality see Simon Digby, “‘Abdu’l-Quddus Gangohi (1456-1537 A.D.): The Personality and Attitudes of a Medieval Indian Sufi” in *Medieval India Miscellany*, vol. 3 (1975), pp. 1-66; Different patterns of spirituality are related by Digby in “Qalandars and Related Groups: Elements of Social Deviance in the Religious Life of the Delhi Sultanate of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries” in Yohannan Friedmann edited, *Islam in South Asia*, vol.1, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Press, 1984, pp. 60-108; For use of anecdotal material for understanding the diverse roles of the sufi in medieval Indian milieu see his, “The Sufi Shaykh as a Source of Authority in Medieval India” in

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introduced a more rounded perspective of sufis in medieval Indian history by making a comparative analysis of anecdotal material in the hagiographical literature which was dismissed in earlier scholarship as exaggerated or even fallacious accounts that result from the bias of the hagiographer's pen. Whatever be the level of critical approach, scholars have looked at this literature, particularly individual biographies and biographical dictionaries that contain anecdotes about numerous sufis, as a storehouse of information that can be taken and inserted into the larger historical narrative of the period that concern's them. Little attempt, however, has been made to examine the sufi biography from a literary point of view or to ask questions about the motivation of the biographer in mentioning certain information which he includes or-withholds from the reader. In this chapter an attempt has been made to understand why and how the biographer of Saiyid Ḥasan 'Rasūlnumā' incorporates numerous dream narratives of his Shaikh, and of those who came in contact with him. In other words, the dreams in the Malfūzāt-i Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlnumā stand on the crossroads of several perspectives. On the one hand they illustrate the role of dreams in the biographical notice while, on the

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19 With reference to biographical studies in Arabic this sort of treatment has been characterized by Richard Bulliet as, "Scholars have customarily have used biographical dictionaries as they were intended to be used by the authors, as reference books." See his, "Quantitative Approach to Medieval Muslim Biographical Dictionaries", *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 13 (1970), p. 195. Bulliet's own method of 'Quantitative approach' has barely made a scratch on the surface of medieval studies in the Indian context. A beginning has been made for quantitative analysis in the study of conversions to Islam of certain Jat communities in Punjab by Richard. M. Eaton, "The Political and Religious Authority of the Shrine of Baba Fārīd" in Babara D. Metcalf edited, *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Ādab in South Asian Islam*, London: University of California Press, 1984, pp. 335-356.
other hand, their context relates them to the world of the Uwaisī sufis. These dreams, however, are a part of a larger concern of the Islamic civilization and, therefore, they must be analyzed with reference to the framework provided by the oneiric tradition in Islam.

I

Life of Saiyid Ḥasan ‘Rasūlnumā’ Uwais Qaranī Sānī

It has already been mentioned that the Malfūzāt does not provide any details about the family or spiritual ancestry of Saiyid Ḥasan. The information that we have in this regard is based on the shajara’i nasab (genealogical tree) procured by the translator from Saiyid Ḥasan’s dargāh in Delhi, according to which one of his ancestors, Ḥaẓrat Usmān had come from Hamadan with an army and had died fighting the kuffār (unbelievers) in Hindūstān. He is buried in Narnaul and is known as Usmān Narnaulī. Another family tradition, however, holds that his ancestors came to Hindūstān from Bukhāra. They first settled in Mohan in Lakhnau and later left for Narnaul. One of them is Saiyid Tājuddīn Tāj Jamāl Sher Sawar Chābukmar also lies buried in Narnaul.20 He was a Chishtiya and son of Qutbuddīn Nūr, the grandson of Jamāluddīn Hansvī. Surprisingly, Saiyid Ḥasan’s biographer never makes any reference to his illustrious ancestors and, it is not unexpected for such linkages to be created at a later date. All that Muhammad Hāshim tells us about his early life is that at the death of his father Saiyid Ḥasan was appointed to his office in

20 For these traditions see the Urdu translator’s preface of Manāqib, op. cit., p. 8; According to Chahār gulshan, op.cit, folio 14 (a) Saiyid Ḥasan’s ancestor is called ‘Kafarmar’.
the state service *(mansab)*\(^{21}\). When Saiyid Hasan was eighteen years old his relatives made a case against him with the help of corrupt officials and grabbed his landholding\(^{22}\) in Narnaul (*Sinn-i sharif hizdah* [hijjad] *rasid ki himāyat al aqarib kal’aqarib ba-jihat-i ma’ashi ki az ars rasida būd munaqasha kardand...*).\(^{23}\) At this point he decided to devote himself to traditional Islamic learning, seek perfection in it, and thus win the favour of an influential person to avenge himself.

Saiyid Hasan had no means of sustenance at his disposal when he left Narnaul for Akbarābād (Agra) with the intention of securing his *madad-i ma’ash* through the intervention of the *sadr* (official incharge of state charity), but his effort was in vain. During his stay in Agra he took up the job of a *mu’allim* (teacher) for boys, and was probably in the employment of a noble called Mahabat Khān.\(^{24}\) We do not know about the duration of this employment, nor can his departure from Akbarābād be dated, but we are told that after the failure of his appeal to the *sadr* the Saiyid left for the ‘east’ in search of knowledge.\(^{25}\) After this episode we get ample reference of Saiyid Hasan’s wanderings in Allāhabad, Benaras and Jaunpur for fourteen years, before his return to Narnaul for the next twelve years of his life, and after which he made a final departure for Shāhjahānābād where he stays till his death in A.D. 1692.

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\(^{21}\) According to S. A. A. Rizvi his father was in the service of Abū’l Ḥasan Asaf Khān (d. A.D. 1641), the second son of Nūr Jahān’s father Itimādud Daulah, whom Shāhjahān had appointed as *wakil* or prime minister. See S. A. A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

\(^{22}\) In the *Malfuzāt* the term used is *madad-i ma’ash* that indicates a particular kind of land grant which is free from any revenue obligation by the holder. The state made such grants for reason of charity and these were, usually, hereditary in nature.

\(^{23}\) *Malfuzāt*, V/4; *Manaqib*, p. 42.

\(^{24}\) *Ibid*; Also in the *Faiṣān* there is an autobiographical mention by the Shaikh that at the age of nineteen he served a noble man and during this time he had opportunity to travel. See Saiyid Najībuddin’s *Faiṣān-i Ḥasan Rasūlmān*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

\(^{25}\) *Malfuz*, I/the bayaz page; *Manaqib*, pp. 43-44.
During the years of his wandering the Saiyid associated with several men of learning like Muhammad Jamīl and ‘Abdu’l Rashīd Jaunpurī for knowledge of tradition sciences, but he apparently never promised himself for spiritual tutelage to a particular shaikh. In an age when silsila was the dominant form of sufi organisation Saiyid Ḥasan’s lack of a ḥāhirī pîr was subject to mockery of people like Dilāwar Khān Siālkoṭī (governor of Sirhind) who questioned the basis of his darweshī in absence of a physical guide. The source of our Shaikh’s spiritual initiation and upbringing was Prophet Muhammad, the ultimate initiator in all salāsil, with whom he was in constant touch through dreams and visions. The practice is reminiscent of Uwais Qarānī’s telepathic communication with Muhammad. In Muslim belief Muhammad’s visionary appearance is akin to his presence in reality, and as such the legitimation of the Saiyid’s claim was never seriously challenged. The skeptics were always being put in their place by Saiyid Ḥasan’s power to control their mental and physical states, or by his ability to induce similar type of vision for the doubter. The function of dreams as an exercise in image building and defining the relational aspect of Saiyid Ḥasan’s practice vis a vis his disciples has been explored below.

If one gathers various anecdotal materials related to the physical appearance and conduct of Saiyid Ḥasan then one can identify a net of behaviour pattern that matches the

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26 For details see Malfūzāt, I/107; Manāqīb, p. 182; The Shaikh himself submits that he has not been a murid of any master, see 14th fa’īḥ of the Malfūzāt, I/98-99; Manāqīb, pp. 396-397.
27 Refer to Saiyid Ḥasan’s treatment of Mīrzā Beg Gakkhar who was reduced to a state of ecstasy in which he tore his clothes, and subsequently was granted a vision of the Prophet. Malfūzāt, I/100; Manāqīb, pp. 173-174.
manner of Uwais Qaranî of legends. From the descriptions produced by Muhammad Hâshim, in the second and the third fâ‘îb, one can easily conjure a picture of Saiyid Hasan as a sparsely dressed mendicant, in a izar (loose trouser) or a tahband (a piece of cloth tied to the waist and falling to the ankles) and a zhanda (an old patched garment) round his shoulders, which he stitched with rags picked on the way (wa parchaha’ kuhna ki dar râh uftada mî-bûdand zhanda mî-sakhûnd), to protect him from intensity of heat and cold. In summer he wrapped his head with a rag and roamed through the bazaars in a half torn shirt, a sleeve of which he would have offered to someone needy. And during winters he wore a cotton cap (wa dar sarma kulâh pumba dar bar sar dâshî) and donned an old coat (qaba). If he came across someone who had purchased new shoes, he would borrow his old pair. This sparingly covered, often shoeless, and poverty stricken figure is suggestive of Uwais Qaranî. The author has made a conscious effort to match the physical description of his protagonist to the legendary appearance of his role model. The most remarkable application of duplicating attempts, however, is the notice about Saiyid Hasan’s extraction of his teeth to express his empathy with the matyred teeth of the Prophet.

28 For these descriptions see Malfîzât, l/9, 10 & 29; Manâqib, pp. 49, 95, & 96. 29 The author observes that Husain Khâvrizmî in his commentary of Maulûnâ Rûm’s Masnâvî has mentioned such a zhanda that was worn by Uwais Qaranî, see Malfîzât, l/10; Manâqib, p. 49. The zhanda may actually be a substitute for Prophet’s patched mantle or khîrqa which was Muhammad’s gift to Uwais Qaranî, to be delivered to him by Caliphs ‘Umar and ‘Alî. On receiving the gift after Muhammad’s demise, Uwais prayed for forgiveness of Muslims in general, wearing that mantle. The gift of the khîrqa is thus symbolic of the transference of intercessionary powers from Muhammad to Uwais Qaranî. This tradition was first mentioned in Farîuddîn ‘Attâr’s Ta’kîrât al auliya’, see Chapter IV section I above. 30 When the Shaîkh was in the east he told the barbar (hâjîm) to extract his teeth. In a little while he heard one of his tooth say allâh-o akbar, in a little while another tooth said the same and then all his teeth fell out in his hand. Then a person from the unseen said that it was Prophet’s wish that some of his teeth should
Saiyid Ḥasan’s food habits too were inspired by the behaviour of Uwais Qarānī who is said to have picked things from dunghills. He ate sparingly and would even pick leftovers from the utensils of slaves, or eat leftovers by a dog or a cat inorder to subdue his baser soul (*baʿzī auqāt pas k hurla sāg wa gurba nīz k hurlī ba-jihat ba-zillat-i nafs*).

Our author explains that although an ‘ārif-i kāmil (perfect gnostic), such as the Shaikh, need not observe such an action for killing his base instincts, but these were essential for purpose of instructing others. Saiyid Ḥasan’s conduct in society was inspired by the behaviour of his archetype. According to a legend Uwais sought solitude and anonymity, and thus left for Kūfah for fear of crowds in Qaran who desired his intercession. Our Saiyid claimed a premonition of similar recognition in Shāhjahānābād in a dream and decided against visiting the city. Following the insistance of the Prophet in a dream, he established himself in Shāhjahānābād, but he kept his identity camouflaged as a cloth market broker and was known as Saiyid Ḥasan ‘Dalāl’. Further, it was his custom to speak harshly to the rich inorder to discourage their attempts for further association, and while he shunned the company of the wealthy, he welcomed alliance with mendicants and students. All these aspects of Saiyid Ḥasan’s behaviour were in consonance with his general principle of renunciation with worldly materiality.

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32 *Malfūṣāt*, I/19; *Manāqib*, p. 96.
34 *Malfūṣāt*, I/1 the bayaz page; *Manāqib*, pp. 89-90.
35 *Malfūṣāt*, I/1 the bayaz page & p.122; *Manāqib*, pp. 96, 206 & 207.
Finally, there is a need to explain the ecstatic conduct of the Saiyid that has been determined at several points in the *Malfūẓāt-i Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlmumā*. The earliest reference to this behaviour belongs to the period of his journeying on foot from Akbarābād to Allāhabād. The description of this travel is full of usual pathos that affects someone who is afflicted with the love for God. In this state he would perform acts of supererogation and subject himself to hardships. In a state of mystic escalation he even practiced *tafāʿul* (divination). And if the prediction was a positive one he would be overcome with ecstasy. Such exaggerated acts committed in a state of spiritual rapture became more bizarre. One day he heard someone reciting this couplet from the *Dīwān-i Ḥāfīz*:

> *Shanīda-am ki sagān rā kulāda mī bastand; chirā bagardan-i Ḥāfīz namī nahy rasānī*

*I have heard [O Beloved] that you collar dogs. Why don’t you put a collar around Ḥāfīz?*

Saiyid Ḥasan chose to read this couplet by substituting his own name for Ḥāfīz in the following manner:

> *Shanīda-am ki sagān rā kulāda mī bastand; chirā bagardan-i Ḥasan namī nahy rasānī*

*I have heard [O Beloved] that you collar dogs. Why don’t you put a collar around Ḥasan?*

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36 Here the *Malfūẓāt* provides us with interesting details about the superstitions observed in those days. The Shaikh would throw a pebble and if it hit another pebble he considered it to be a good omen which indicated that he would reach God. Sometimes he swept the ground clean and spread some grain on it. If a male bird picked on the grain, he reckoned it to be good. But if a female bird came for the grain he shooed it away inorder to avoid misfortune. Saiyid Hashim notes that this was a common practice among the women of Hindūstān. Another belief which was common to these women was to use crows for augury, specially when their husbands were missing. Even Saiyid Ḥasan used this technique for foretelling. If he saw a crow sitting on a wall or a tree he addressed it so, “If, I were to reach God, then fly away”. If the bird flew he would be come over with *wajd* (ecstacy). He even bribed the *kāhin* (soothsayer) and *munajjim* (astrologer) so that they predicted in his favour and when the prediction was given he would do *raqs* (dance) in a state of ecstacy. See *Malfūẓāt* I/7-8; *Manāqib*, pp. 46-47.
This couplet affected him so deeply that he collared himself up, ate and drank like a dog, and even barked like one, in fact, he adopted all the gestures of a dog (...khwurdan wa naushidan wa rāh raftan wa āwāz hama ba-ţaur-i sagān ikhtiyār kardan). He said that to be a dog to one’s beloved one must imitate a dog, he would then pose like a dog and walk in that manner for four or six miles (...wa mī-farmūdand ki mabhūb waqti bāshad ki waza’i sag ikhtiyār numāyad, hatta ki tā do karūh wa sih karūh ba-ân waza’ rāh mī-raftand).37

Another incident is related about Saiyid Hasan’s abnormal behaviour from his days in Benaras. During those days life was hard without any means of livelihood and one day Saiyid Hasan was forced to sell the kamarband (waistband) of his ustād (teacher), Muhammad Jamīl. On his way to the market he met a sajjādah nashīn, called Shaikh Hasan, who invited the party of our Shaikh to the ‘urs celebrations of his shaikh. When the guests arrived the sama’ was already in progress. Saiyid Hasan whispered to Muhammad Jamīl that he would pretend to be overcome by the music and would cry in hope of getting something. Saying this he immediately stood up kept his hand on his head

37 The compiler provides an explanation for this strange conduct by narrating a story from Sa’di’s Bostan about a darwesh who barked like a dog. The darwesh explained that since God likes and appreciates helplessness and weakness, therefore, he made sounds like that of a dog because there is nothing as lowly or contemptible like a dog. Only those who think themselves to be nothing reach the heights of God’s Court. See Mafīżāt, 18-9; Manāqib, pp. 47-48; Later accounts about Saiyid Hasan ‘Rasūlnumā’ also remember him as a Malāmatī sufi. Shāh Wali Allah Dihlawī in his Al taftimāt al Ilāhiyya relates: Khwāja Muhammad Mah ‘Azīzī from among the followers of Mīr Abū’l Ma’ālī was living near Bihār Ganj and had accomplished the suḥbat of Saiyid Hasan ‘Rasūlnumā’, he used to relate that one day Saiyid Hasan was listening to a couplet from a qawwāl the subject of which was to liken oneself to the beloved’s dog, and that simile gave him immense pleasure. But that pleasure was coming and going and was unsettling. He went inside and tied a rope around his neck and secured it strongly to a nail. And he threw the rope around himself and kept reading the same couplet and moving around the nail. In this condition that
and started crying. Whatever maybe the reason for this action, the majlis (gathering) was so inspired by this performance that everyone present started crying.\(^{38}\) Shaikh Salîm, a dîwân of the Emperor, who was also attending that majlis, presented twenty rupees to Saiyid Ḥasan and the latter, forwarded this amount to his ustâd. The latter, however, returned it [indicating that he was not pleased with the sum]. The dîwân was embarrassed and accused Muhammad Jamîl’s party of holding false pretentions. Saiyid Ḥasan accepted this as a challenge and when the majlis again warmed up he started crying, and induced the same effect in everyone as before. Shaikh Salîm raised the sum to rupees thirty but it received the same treatment as before. This exercise was repeated for the third time and the dîwân further raised the sum of his offering by another ten rupees, but it was again refused. This was obviously embarrassing for him and he left the majlis in great anger. Now, Saiyid Ḥasan had no wish to lose this offering and he followed the dîwân’s palanquin. When the latter saw him approach, he stopped and enquired about their refusal of his nazr in the majlis. To this Saiyid Ḥasan replied that his party had been hopeful of an offering of fifty or sixty rupees and had kept refusing the offerings in hope of hiking the amount. Shaikh Salîm smiled at this and was generous with his nazr of fifty rupees which the Saiyid accepted. He distributed a rupee each to the twelve shagîrds (disciples) and gave the rest to Muhammad Jamîl.\(^{39}\)

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\(^{39}\) Cf. Malfūgāt I/13-15; Manâqib, pp. 54-55.
It is apparent from the diwān’s attitude towards Saiyid Ḥasan’s performance that in those days samāʾ gatherings were convened not necessarily for lending expression to any mystical state, but such assemblies were also addended by mendicants of dubious religiousity as an instrument of supplementing their meagre resources of income. The anecdote evokes suspicion of Saiyid Ḥasan’s own sincerity for samāʾ. His biographer speculates that maybe the Shaikh used this occasion as an opportunity to incur malamat (blame). Whatever be the explanation for Saiyid Ḥasan’s behaviour in this episode, it is not consistent with his portrayal elsewhere in the text. I have already mentioned an episode in which he became ecstatic on listening to a qawwāl sing a couplet from the Diwān-i Ḥaфиз.

This apparent lack of congruity in attitude towards samāʾ marked by mockery in one instance and sympathetic response in the other, reveals the complexity evident in the making of a medieval sufi. Also, in either case, his response is activated by reasons of generosity towards others, rather than concern for himself. This chivalry in character, despite risk of malāmat in Banaras episode, is reminiscent of the traditions of jawānmardī (chivalry) observed at the khānaqah (hospice) of early sufis.40

Another aspect of Saiyid Ḥasan’s ecstatic conduct is his utterance of shabhiyāt or inaberrated speech of mystics with latitude without bothering about any regulations that occurs in a state of spiritual rapture. The content of such speech is apparently against the

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shari’a, however, these sayings are inspired by God and must therefore be given an auspicious interpretation.\footnote{A full chapter is devoted to the shafi‘iyah of Saiyid Hasan, see Malfuzat, II/50-64; Manaqib, pp. 348-362.} In the world of Sufism such behavioural characteristics are associated with the Malama‘i sufis who follow the ‘doctrine of blame’ and deliberately provoke criticism of people in order to kill their nafs [ego].\footnote{The teaching of the early Malama‘i sufis was not an internally consistent system, but rather a number of principles that centred around the basic Malama‘i doctrine that all outward appearance of piety or religiousity, including good deeds is ostentation. The required struggle against the desire of approval of men in conjunction with the concern to hide his spiritual state may bring the Malama‘i to show only his bad qualities. In doing so he may make himself an object of blame (Arabic malam, malama, from the root lama “to blame”). Cf. F de Jong, “Malama‘iyah”, EF, vol. 6 (1991), pp. 223-224.}

Some of the earliest sources on Uwais Qarani refer to this aspect of his disposition. According to Kalabazī Uwais belonged to a particular category of sufis called the ‘uqala‘-i majānīn or the ‘insane wise’ who after reaching the stage of fanā or passing away, became absent from their own attributes. In this state of annihilation they appeared to be really mad, so that God does not appoint such ones to be in position of leadership amongst His people.\footnote{For Abū Bakr Kalabazī on Uwais Qarani see his Kitāb al ta‘arruf li madhhab ahl al tasawwuf translated from the Arabic into English by A. J. Arberry as The Doctrine of the Sufis, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, reprint 1977 (1935), pp. 8.} A few decades after Kalabazī, ‘Alī bin Uṣmān Hujwīrī, in his notice of Uwais Qarani mentions that one of the reasons why Uwais could not meet the Prophet was because he was overwhelmed with ecstatic. Further, he also observes that the populace of Qaraq was acquainted with Uwais’ eccentric mannerisms.\footnote{The other reason for Uwais’ inability to meet Muhammad was his commitment towards his old mother.} Eventhough, the earliest recorded tradition does not relate any shafi‘iyah of Uwais, later there are reference
to such sayings observed in the notices of Uwaisi sufis like Bāyazīd Bisti and his spiritual disciple Abū’l Hasan Khargāni.\(^{45}\)

There is, however, a worldly dimension to Saiyid Hasan’s darweshī. In early days of his wandering he managed to sustain himself through methods common to mendicants of his day. Muhammad Hāshim informs us that in those days he would have an income of two rupees in a month through nāzr (gift) and kāṣb (means of livelihood). Sometimes he would even behave in an outrageous fashion in order to force gifts of money from people, such as Shaikh Salim. But, mostly he would beg, or earn some money by reciting stories for people or he would baffle around and dance for money.\(^{46}\) On returning to Narnaul he gradually built up his career as a teacher and gathering a band of students around him he set up a school in an old mosque.\(^{47}\) In keeping with his Malāmatī conduct Saiyid Hasan refused to accept large gifts of money or stipend as a source of regular income,\(^{48}\) and this further added to his image as a man of spiritual acclaim.

Our hagiographer does not inform us about the date of Saiyid Hasan’s arrival in Shāhjahanābād. One can only estimate on the basis of incidental reference that he had arrived in the city by A.D. 1642, since the Malīfūzāt accounts for his meeting with ‘Abdu’l

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45 See Chapter IV, section I above.
46 See Manāqīb, pp. 49.
47 There is a brief notice of Saiyid Hasan constructing a mosque near the grave of a shāhid in Narnaul, on the bayaz page in Malīfūzāt I, for detail about the same see Manāqīb, pp. 81-82.
48 He refused offering of a thousand dinars and a daily stipend of twelve rupees made by Khāfīl Khān, faujdār of Narnaul. Manāqīb, p. 85; Later in Shāhjahanābād he refused to accept gift of three bigha land from ‘Abdu’l Ghafur and his brother, ibid, p. 90.
Haqq Muḥaddīṣ Dihlawī who died in A.D. 1642.\textsuperscript{49} What is fascinating is the way in which Saiyid Ḥasan established himself in the new capital of the Mughals amidst an existing plethora of 
*mashāikh* and *auliyā*. In those days men of religiousity acquired prominence due to three reasons. They would either be individuals possessing scholastic abilities and would invariably have an association with one or more sufi orders. They could also be sufis who were devoid of any significant learning but had acquired a reputation on account of deviant conduct. And some religious figures could have acquired prestige besides scholarship or *silsila* affiliation. Saiyid Ḥasan ‘Rasūlnumā’ belonged to this latter category, acquiring fame amongst the elite and commoners of Delhi on account of his extraordinary ability to enable people to have a vision of Prophet Muhammad. This talent had a material dimension for the Shaikh who, sometimes, charged a fee for inducing such a vision.

When the Shaikh’s fame reached Prince Dārā Shukoh (d. A.D. 1659), who was a follower of the Qādirī *silsila* and had great desire to meet men of religious inclination, he dispatched two of his companions Sa’dū’llāh Khān and Ṭabdū’l Ḥākim to seek an appointment with the Shaikh on his behalf, but the latter refused to grant him an audience.\textsuperscript{50} Nevertheless, according to Muhammad Ḥāshim a number of Mughal officials did play court to his Shaikh.\textsuperscript{51} It will be significant to comment here that while the Shaikh

\textsuperscript{49} There is a reference to a meeting between Saiyid Hasan and ‘Abdu’l Haqq in matter of verification of Prophet’s visionary appearance. The Shaikh also mentions that once ‘Abdu’l Haqq had come to visit him at Phulpārī, but on account of a great crowd he hid himself and did not receive his visitor. See *Malfūṣāt*, l/53; *Manāqīb*, pp. 124-125.

\textsuperscript{50} *Manāqīb*, p. 90.

\textsuperscript{51} Saiyid had an audience of royal office bearers like Mīrzā Beg Gakkhar, Mīrzā Bairam, Muhammad Sālih, Khwāja Ināyat Nazīr. The Shaikh was apprehensive of one ‘Altaqād Khān, alias Bairam Khān’s,
associated with such individuals, the *Malfūżat-i Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlnumā* is surprisingly devoid of comments on facts related to political activity of the times. Significant events like the struggle for succession amongst the royal princes, the subsequent execution of Dārā, and the coronation of Awrangzab go unnoticed in the *Malfūżat*.

Nevertheless, the source is extremely useful in details of cultural and social nature. Other than imparting information about the beliefs and superstitions of the medieval people, it also refers to the atmosphere of tension between Saiyid Ḥasan and the social groups who represented the dominant *tariqa* in the city. This impression is presented in the *Malfūżat* in terms of the Shaikh’s mistrust towards a group of Naṣṣibandī Afghāns. Within a few days of the Shaikh’s arrival in Delhi, a group of Afghāns who lived in the vicinity of Kulālī Bagh were blessed with the vision of the Prophet. The Shaikh asked each of those blessed with this vision to deposit a sum of two rupees as *niyāz* (offering) in the name of the Prophet. Muhammad Ḥāshim records that in twenty days a hundred people were anointed in this manner and the Shaikh made a collection of two hundred rupees. In this group there were a few Naṣṣibandī Afghāns who had witnessed the Shaikh’s *tasārruf* (spiritual control). In a few days time when the Shaikh had made substantial amount of collections they advised him to invest his money with them in partnership. They traded profitably and made an amount of fourteen thousand rupees, but they paid only a partial amount of profit to the Saiyid. During those days Saiyid Ḥasan’s

persuasion, and had therefore, left Phulwāri for Kulālī Bagh. See *Malfūżat* 1/bayāz page; *Manāqib*, pp. 90, 175 & 176.
expenditure had increased considerably since he was looking after the needs of people who had migrated into Delhi on account of a drought in the east. Substantial numbers had settled around Saiyid Ḥasan’s house. When Saiyid Ḥasan discovered a shortage, he asked his Naqshbandī partners for balance payment. The rest of the Afghāns who had faith in the Naqshbandīs, on account of their God fearing attitude, blamed the Shaikh’s forgetful nature in this affair. After eight months of dispute Saiyid Ḥasan handed over the sanad written by the Afghāns to Miyan ‘Alī Khān, probably an official, who discovered a shortage. The Naqshbandīs secretly asked Miyan ‘Alī Khān to destroy the sanad but he refused to comply with their demand. Even when their guilt was proved, the Naqshbandī Afghāns did not beg the Shaikh’s pardon, nor did they return his money. Henceforth, the Shaikh was wary of Naqshbandīs and if he came across a person of this affiliation he would tell him about his suffering at their hands. Although he had great respect for Khwāja Bahā’uddīn Naqshband, the eponymous founder of this creed, he expressed an aversion to Naqshbandīs of his day who regarded use of lime and beetle as harām (forbidden), but did not hesitate to deceive and harm other Muslims (like Saiyid Ḥasan) by unlawfully taking their possessions. In other words, he was contemptuous of Naqshbandīs ostensible display of piety, when in actuality they indulged in eating, drinking, and amassing material wealth that is against the sunnat.\footnote{The only two events to which the text refers to are: one about Awrangzeb’s departure from Delhi to Akbarābād; and about his leaving the capital for the Deccan, see Malīzī, I/the bayaz page; Manāqīb, pp. 91, 94 & 95 respectively.}

\footnote{For the entire Naqshbandī Afghan episode cf. Manāqīb, pp. 91-94.}
What was the response of the contemporary Naqshbandī mashāikh of Shāhjahānābād to Saiyid Ḥasan’s extraordinary ability of inducing visions of the Prophet that became a reason for attracting away their disciples? There is a dream narrative in the *Maqāmāt-i Māsharī* reported by Ghulām ‘Alī from the *majlis* of Shaikh Sa’dullāh (d. 1153/1749) who was the disciple of Muhammad Siddīq, one of the grandsons of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī through Khwāja Muhammad Ma’sūm. One of the disciples of Shaikh Sa’dullāh was Nawwāb Khān Firoz Jang, the son of Nawwāb Asaf Jah I, who visited his *khānaqah* every day. On one of these visits, Ghulām ‘Alī reports:

Nawwāb Khān Firoz Jang was his [Sa’dullāh Khān’s] *murīd*, he said in his presence, “Saiyid Ḥasan ‘Rasūlnumā’, May God be pleased with him, whomsoever he desires to honour with the vision of the Prophet, May God grant him peace and salvation, he keeps forming for them this honour”. He [Sa’dullāh Khān] said, “Whomsoever I desire, is twice granted the honour of the vision of the Prophet, May God grant him peace and salvation. Tonight, you read the ḵaṭiḥa [and] concentrate on the blessed spirituality [and] go to sleep.” He went, did the same, and was blessed with the honoured vision. He decided a present of a hundred rupees [for the Shaikh]. The second time he read the ḵaṭiḥa [and] went to sleep, he was again granted this distinct fortune [and] he determined another hundred rupees as present. In the morning he was present in the service of Ishān (Sa’dullāh Khān) and presented a hundred rupees [saying] that, “By the grace of God, I have obtained the blessed attention of this distinguished wealth”. By the light of his discernment the Shaikh knew and said, “Where is that second hundred?” He was distressed and presented that [second hundred].54

The narrative clearly displays that the locally established Naqshbandi Shaikh Sa’dullāh Khān found it difficult to tolerate the presence of Saiyid Ḥiāsan who was a Shaikh of considerable charisma. In comparison to the Saiyid’s ability to grant his disciples the vision of the Prophet, he shows his superior miraculous ability to enable the same for his disciples twice.

By the time Emperor Awrangzeb departed for the Deccan in A.D. 1678, Saiyid Ḥiāsan’s organisation had spread considerably. In fact, after the court left for the Deccan and several people faced financial difficulties, the Shaikh intensified the activities of his langar (public kitchen). From an expenditure of rupees two per day on such activities, the expense rose to five hundred rupees per week. Tuesday and Thursday were days specified for purpose of distribution of largesse when thousands would come to collect their share. Once there was such a rush that the Shaikh was unable to control it. Even as he hurried into a lane to avoid the crowds, three people were trampled in the rush. In view of this popularity it should not be surprising that the Shaikh had a considerable number of followers.

The fifteenth chapter of the Malfūzāt is dedicated to his sons and disciples. Of the three sons of Saiyid Ḥiāsan, Saiyid Hāshim was the oldest and, perhaps, the most

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55 Manaqib, p. 95.
illustrious. He was an expert at interpreting dreams. Muhammad Hāshim informs us that at the time of compilation of the Malfūgāt he was looking after two hundred and fifty students and followers in Lāhor. A few days before his death the Shaikh had instructed Saiyid Qāsim, son of Saiyid Hāshim, to inform his father that he must take over responsibility of looking after his disciples at Delhi and Narnaul. This indicates that Saiyid Hāshim was the chosen successor of the Shaikh. The author provides scant information about the other two sons, Saiyid 'Abdu'llāh and 'Ātāu'llāh. Saiyid 'Abdu'llāh was possessed with spiritual states and returned from Delhi to Narnaul. And 'Ātāu'llāh was still a student at the time of compilation of this Malfūgāt. Shaikh Muhammad Faiyāz was the Shaikh’s son in law, and had several decades of association with him. When Saiyid Ḥasan left Narnaul for Delhi, he had made Muhammad Faiyāz incharge of the set up in Narnaul. His death preceeded that of his Shaikh. Saiyid Qāsim was the grandson of the Shaikh and was a person of traditional and mystic learning, and was blessed with true dreams.

The above mentioned murīds were special, in the sense that, they were related to Saiyid Ḥasan. Muhammad Hāshim Sirhindī gives us brief notices of some other special followers of the Shaikh in a separate section of this chapter. Miyān ‘Alī Khān, Ghazanfar Beg, Mīrzā Beg Gakkhar, Miyān Şuţān Muhammad Karnālī, Shaikh Ibrāhīm Karnālī, Muhammad Razā Karnālī, Miyān Jamāl Khān, Miyān Lāl Muhammad, Shāh Ilāh Yār Şāhīb Sākin Bajwārā, Raḩmatu’llāh Sāmānī, Bāyazīd Ḥasanpurī, Muhammad Murād

56 For an account of Saiyid Ḥasan’s sons see Malfūgāt, II/108-109; Manâqib, pp. 405-407.
Kaithalī, Muhammad Razā Meerutī, Saiyid Qūb Hāpurī, etc.

Judging from their names and provincial nisba (name) we can conclude that a majority of Saiyid Ḥasan’s disciples were Afghāns who mainly functioned in the sūbahs (provinces) of Delhi and Lāhor. Although we do not have any khilāfatnāmas or ijāzatnāmas issued by the Shaikh, it is evident from the above reference that Delhi and Narnaul were the principal seats of Saiyid Ḥasan’s control, while a third one at Lāhor was developed by his son. In fact, the provincial nisbas give us a fairly good idea about the direction of Shaikh’s influence that spread northwards of Narnaul via Delhi to Karnāl, Kaithal, Samānā, Sirhind, Bajwārā, Lāhor, and remained largely concentrate on the western banks of river Jamuna. Although, the social composition of Saiyid Ḥasan’s followers varied with respect to their family background and profession, in their notices they all appear to be ragged individuals, who often roamed naked in state of spiritual bliss. Another feature that most of them share is their experience of the vision of Prophet Muhammad in state of sleep or waking. The significance of these visions shall be examined below.

II

The dreams and visions of Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlnumā:

The significance of the dream is determined to a great extent by the nature of the text that contains the dream. Sufi literature in general, and biographical notices of the sufis in particular, contain numerous references to dreams. In most sufi texts dream

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57 For notices of some other disciples of the Shaikh see Malfuzārī, II/109-125; Manāqib, pp. 408-422. On page 125 of the second volume of the Malfuzārī the copyist has made a noting on the margin that the original
accounts are compiled either in one independent chapter within a work, or are found as separate narrations, usually, interspersed with narrative of biographical notices and discourses of the biographee. As a biographical notice is arranged in a thematic rather than in a chronological order, the dreams are not related in a historical sequence. This arrangement gives the hagiographer an opportunity to use the dream as a subterfuge for conveying something at strategic points in his narrative, which he would not have been able to do otherwise. In the Malfūzāt-i Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlnumā, for example, dream anecdotes are adduced throughout the text, although certain types of dreams, wherein the Prophet or God become manifest, are found clustered together in the fifth fāʿīh which is dedicated to the mukāshfāt (spiritual unveilings) and kharq-i ādat (literally, unusual, this refers to a particular type of sufi miracle) of Saiyid Ḥasan.

The frequency of dream citation and nature of their content in texts dealing with the sufis is defined to a significant extent by the spiritual ‘style’ particular to the organising principle determined in the text. Appearance of God, Prophet Muhammad, Khīżr, the first four Caliphs, apparitions from the world of dead, the biographee’s own murshid and fellow disciples, and contemporaries of repute, are common occurrence in the dream imagination of sufis. What, however, is not common is the motif of the ‘Uwaisī’ which is the distinguishing feature of sufis who claim direct initiation from imagined forms in physical absentia. It has already been said that sufis of this brand of spirituality are found in various orders but their Uwaisī association is in addition to a

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page that belonged to this place in the manuscript has been lost. If God be willing, when found it shall be written. In the meanwhile place has been left for the same.
spiritual connection stringed to a living pîr. In the case of Saiyid Ḥasan there is no living shaikh for the purpose of initiation, instruction, and guidance along the mystic path. All these functions are fulfilled through dreams in which the Prophet communicates with our Shaikh. Saiyid Ḥasan himself perpetuates a system in which the need for a living pîr is overcome by forging a direct association with the Prophet in dreams. Muhammad Hāshim states that the ability to show Prophet Muhammad in dreams was a unique miracle of his Shaikh that earned him the epithet of ‘Rasūlnuma’.

Even though the achievement is not unique to the Saiyid, what is noteworthy is his explanation for dreams, their frequent manifestation and significance of these in the medieval worldview. In one of his assemblies the Shaikh himself recalls how he had once approached ‘Abdu’l Ḥaqq Muḥaddīṣ Dihlawī (d. A.D. 1642), a famous scholar of ḥadīṣ and commentator on al Tabrīzī’s Mishkāt al masāḥih, with the intention of verifying the authenticity of Prophetic visions with appropriate ḥadīṣ. This brief reference in the Maljūṣūt is important as it conveys the anxiety in the biographee’s mind about the authenticity of his dreams and visions in which he claimed to behold presence of the Prophet. Verification in this matter

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58 Muhammad Hāshim’s statement (Maljūṣūt, I/50; Manāqib, pp. 121) need not be taken literally as there are several dream narratives about sufi shaikhs who induced dreams of the Prophet. An Egyptian hagiologist ‘Abdu’l Ra’uf as Munawī A.D. (1545-1621) in his introduction to Al kawākib al durriya fi tarājīm al šadāt al šu’iyya, a biographical dictionary of saints, has mentioned twenty categories of karāmat, among which he mentions clear and true dreams (al ru’ya al šāliḥa al šādiqā). One of the categories of true dreams is in which the Prophet appears. Cf. Leah Kinberg’s Introduction to Morality in the Guise of Dream: Ibn Abī al Dunyā’s Kitāb al Manām, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994, pp. 11-12.

59 The Saiyid, dressed in distinguished robes (contrary to his custom), and accompanied by a few people presented himself before this great scholar. In the brief dialogue that ensues between ‘Abdu’l Ḥaqq and Saiyid Ḥasan, the latter did not reveal his identity, probably for fear of crowds who might seek him on account of his visionary ability, he introduced himself as ‘Abdu’llâh which simply means ‘servant of God’. After listening to the relevant ḥadīṣ in support of Prophet’s visionary appearance Saiyid Ḥasan returned home. Maljūṣūt, I/52-53; Manāqib, pp. 121-122.
is provided by a scholar of 'Abdu'l Haqq's stature, which not only sets the Saiyid's mind to rest, but it must have also silenced those who doubted the authenticity of Saiyid Hasan's experience. Hereafter, all questions related to dreams and the validity of the belief in dreams, are treated with reference to the writings of 'Abdu'l Haqq, that in turn were based on works of al Ghazālī and al Tabrīzī.

In order to appreciate the significance of dream anecdotes in the Malfūzāt-i Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlnumā it is essential to explain some of the basic precepts about dreams as expressed by Muhammad Hāshim. The word used to describe visions that occur in state of sleep is ru'ya. Although ru'ya literally means 'seeing', but generally it refers to the act of seeing in a dream. There is, however, a difference of opinion about the veracity of dreaming which has been referred to by our author. Quoting Shaikh 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq's Sharḥ al mishkāt as an authority Muhammad Hāshim shows familiarity with the Mu'tazilite, the Asha'rite, and the position of the Ḥukamā (philosophers) on dreams,60 and then goes on to distinguish these from the sufi understanding of dreams which is based on their belief in the 'ālam-i miṣāl (imaginational world). It may be observed here that although Hāshim has shown familiarity with the notion of 'ālam-i miṣāl,61 his understanding of it is limited to its development in the works of Imām Ghazālī, who was

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60 Mu’tazilite represent the rationalist trend in Islam and are of the opinion that since certain conditions which are quintessential for seeing are not satisfied in sleep, therefore, seeing in dream is a false perception. According to the Asha’rite God’s nature does not allow for human beings to perceive in a state of sleep. Whatever is seen in a dream is khayāl-i bāṭil (lit. false imagination), which according to 'Abdu'l Haqq could also imply that although seeing in dream is not a real perception but is akin to it, in a sense it is mere imagination. The Ḥukamā opine that in state of dreaming human imagination comes in contact with the objects and ideas in the 'ālam-i malakūṭ (spiritual realm). The imagination transforms ideas from this realm into symbols which on waking have to be interpreted to reveal their true meaning. See Malfūzāt, 1:54-58; Manāqīb, pp. 126-129.
first to grant an ontological status to the objects in imagination, but did not say that these objects exist in a world of their own. Later in the metaphysical ontology of Ibn `Arabi the notion of the `ālam-i miṣāl was fully conceptualized with a separate objective existence for the imaginal real. Now, although our compiler and his Shaikh have some familiarity with Ibn `Arabi, their understanding of his metaphysics is practically absent.

What follows in the text is a detailed discussion of Prophet’s sayings that are used to prove the integrity of a particular type of dream known as ruʿyāʾi sāliḥ (true dream), ruʿyāʾi šādiq (pure dream), or simply ruʿya (good dream). Just as authorization in Islam is often achieved on the basis of ḥadīṣ formulated to legitimate the topic under discussion, similarly authority given to the usage of dreams as a reliable source is also based on ḥadīṣ.62 According to the author all dreams are basically ascribed to God, except for those in which Satan exercises his influence.63 Muhammad Hāshim goes on to relate a set of traditions to identify two different types of dreams. The first category comprises of true, good or sound dreams that are called ruʿya-i šādiq or aḥkām, these are inspired by God, and are subject to interpretation. The tradition further states that good dreams are tidings (bashārāt) from God that must be related only to a close friend. The other category comprises of bad dreams that are known as hulm or azghāsuʿl ahlām (confused

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61 The concept has been discussed in detail in Chapter II, section 2 above.
62 For an excellent discussion on the ḥadīṣ and dreams as a parallel source of authority in Islam, see L. Kinberg, “Literal Dreams and Prophetic Hadits in classical Islam - a comparison of two ways of legitimation” in Der Islam, vol. 70 (1993), pp. 279-300; and Chapter I above.
63 According to one of the basic precepts of Muslim oneiromancy dreams are ascribed to supernatural factors: dreams are inspired by God, they are suggested by the Satan, or may occur due to dysfunctionality of bodily organisms. For introduction to Islamic oneiric tradition cf. Chapter I & II above.
dreams) which are conveyed by Satan, and their purpose is to lead a pious Muslim astray. Most dream anecdotes in the *Malﬁgāt* belong to the first category.

The Prophet’s sayings about dreams are presented in a variety of versions in the *Malﬁgāt*, and they represent two basic ideas: one idea defines dreams as a part of prophecy, and the other states that the vision of the Prophet in dream is equal to his appearance in reality. The first idea is expressed in a tradition from Abū Hurairah wherein Prophet Muhammad said that when prophecy, which reveals all hidden things, disappears, nothing remains except the *bashārāt*. The Prophet had himself explained the meaning of *bashārat* as true dreams. Further, dream in this tradition is regarded as continuation of Prophet’s preaching, or as part of prophecy itself. Muhammad Hāshim says that just as God by his grace and action bestows prophecy on someone, similarly for the purpose of casting wisdom he bestows dreams on some people. In other words, true dreams are a succession of prophecy; true dreams are a characteristic of the prophets that continue to be even after their death. As virtues of prophets remain even after their demise, people other than the prophets could be endowed with these qualities. Our compiler concludes his interpretation by stating that the purpose of this hadīṣ is to commend and praise a true dream. In other words the one who is favoured with a true

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64 When one sees a bad dream or fears its interpretation, one must seek refuge in God from the Devil and spit three times, and one must not seek its interpretation. It is left to the dreamer to decide about the nature of his dream. Hāshim relates yet another tradition to verify this: if someone sees a dream which he considers as unpleasant or forbidden he must spit three times on his left and thrice seek refuge in God form the Devil. It has been observed by the author that some versions of the hadīṣ have used ‘basaq’ (lit. to spit), while some other versions use ‘nafas’ (lit. to blow). In other words, spitting or blowing are recommended to ward off evil effect of the Devil. *Malﬁgāt*, 1/71-72; *Manāqib*, p.145.

65 Muhammad Hāshim has given a tradition from Ḥazrat Uns in which the Prophet said that a true dream is forty sixth part of prophecy, *Malﬁgāt*, 1/58; *Manāqib*, p. 130.
dream, even if such a person is not a prophet, he is definitely akin to one. In other words, true dreams are prophecy continuing.

The other hadīṣ states that the Prophet's vision in dream is equivalent to his appearance in reality, because Satan cannot take his form. Following the external meaning of this tradition, Muhammad Hāshim opines that if Prophet Muhammad speaks in a dream then his words should be presented as equivalent to hadīṣ-i saḥīh (correct tradition). But if something improper has been uttered then it is the fault of the dreamer's hearing ability. In other words, it is not merely the the actual meeting or seeing of the Prophet that instructs people about their behaviour, Prophet's words heard in a dream may have the same impact. Physical appearance of the Prophet, therefore, is no longer the only source of advice, his appearance in dreams is sufficient and may have the same impact. This is basically a repetition of the message given in the previous tradition that suggests dreams are a continuation of prophecy. The second part of the tradition about the Devil's inability to take the form of Prophet adds further trustworthiness to the dream. Muhammad Hāshim explains that in the opinion of the arbāb-i tahqīq (scholars of Islam) it may be possible for the Devil to appear to the dreamer and mislead him about the visionary presence of God, but it is not possible for him to bluff about the appearance of the Prophet. This is because Prophet is sar chashma-i ḥidāyat (source of lawful guidance), while the Devil is the origin of zalālat (misguidance). Since ḥidāyat and

66 Malsūzā, 1/63; Manāqib, p. 132.
67 Malsūzā, 1/67; Manāqib, p. 140.
*zalālat* are two opposing things there cannot be coincidence of occurrence in this matter.68

The part of the tradition about seeing the Prophet in reality or when awake has been denied by the scholars of *ḥadīṣ*. However, in the understanding of Muhammad Hāshim and his Shaikh, whose views are primarily based on ideas of Imām Ghazālī, the vision of the Prophet in state of sleep and waking is possible and has been explained in the following manner. According to Ghazālī the reality of a person comprises of his incorporeal soul (*rūḥ-i mujarrad*) and human reasoning (*nafs-i nāṭiq*). The physical body is only a means to perceive this reality. But the nature of perception varies. Sometimes it is real, while at other times it can be imaginative or symbolic. When the Prophet died and his soul was separated from his body and buried, how is he to be perceived in absence of his physical form? How is it possible for hundreds of people to see him in different places at the same time? And how can we explain the appearance of Prophet in different guises? Ghazālī answers these questions in terms of the symbolic representation of Muhammad. If one sees Prophet in a dream it is not his physical body or soul, but it is the symbolic representation of the reality of Muhammad that is perceived by the dreamer. Now, the forms in which Prophet is perceived vary according to the inner condition of the hearts of the perceivers. This is similar to different types of mirrors reflecting the same person in a different way. To see Muhammad in a beautiful form is a mark of the perciever’s faith, and to see him in a less pleasing form is a sign of weak faith. In other words, the vision of the Prophet is an appropriate measure for the wayfarers to analyse their internal condition,

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to effect cure for themselves, and they can determine their spiritual status by themselves. In fact, the essence of Prophet Muhammad is like a polished glass in which anyone can see himself or herself. Whatever is seen is the essence of the Prophet that is perceived according to the spiritual states and qualities of the dreamer. Ghazâlî also states that sufis can see angels and spirits of prophets in a waking state. This seeing is also symbolic and is experienced only by the one who perceives and none other. Muhammad Hâshim sums up Ghazâlî’s explanation by admonishing those who deny the visionary appearance of the Prophet as those who contravene the Quran and the hadîş.

Another tradition that is mentioned in the Malfûzât-i Saiyid Ḥîasan Rasûlumâ states that: Nearing the end of days, a believer’s dream will not be false. Hâshim gives us different interpretations for this tradition. According to some scholars, says Muhammad Hâshim, ‘end of days’ means nearing the Day of Judgement; for some sufis it is also indicative of death. While some others are of the view that it implies a time of year when day and night are equal, human beings enjoy perfect health and their dreams are true. Yet another interpretation offered is that this phrase is indication of quick passage of time due to pleasantness of just circumstance created in the day of the mahdî (the guided one). Is the biographer alluding to the times of Saiyid Ḥasan as a period nearing ‘end of days’? This last interpretation could lead to some speculation about Saiyid Ḥasan’s mission in the larger context of Muslim community at the beginning of the second mellenium of Islam. However, in the understanding of the present writer reference to any mission of the

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69 Malfûzât, I/ pp. 68-69; Manâqib, pp. 138-141.
70 Malfûzât I/68; Manâqib, p. 141.
71 Malfûzât I/72-73; Manâqib, pp. 145-146.
Saiyid in the *Malfūṣātit* is as such confined to his students. This is also borne out by the nature of visions, which are often instrumental in establishing the messianic role for self-proclaimed leaders,\textsuperscript{72} but in the *Malfūṣātit* these visions are essentially personal to Saiyid Hasan.

Muhammad Hāshim’s knowledge of dreams is not simply confined to their occurrence in prophetic sayings, in fact he is fairly well versed with the larger world of Muslim oneiric tradition as expressed in the ideas of Muhammad Ibn Sirīn,\textsuperscript{73} the foremost interpreter of dreams who died in the early quarter of the eight century. According to this tradition dreams are treated as signs to the dreamer which are analyzed with reference to certain conditions which further indicate the method to be used for the dream interpretation. Now, these signs may appear as a direct message in a dream communication which is clear and needs no further interpretation, or they could be manifest in forms that are related in a symbolic language which requires interpretation. The principles of oneiromancy were defined to deal with the latter kind of symbolic dreams. Further, these principles are liable to change according to the position of the person who dreams, his belief, profession, ambitions, and the time and place of dreaming. Sometimes a dream may be a coined proverb, which has to be interpreted according to the meaning of the word; sometimes it has to be interpreted antithetically; while sometimes


\textsuperscript{73} For Muhammad Ibn Sirīn’s method of dream classification and interpretation see *Malfūṣātit* 1/73-77; *Manāqib* pp. 147-149.
dreams are confused and are not liable for interpretation. In other words, each dream - whether literal or symbolic - is a sign that possesses independent form and meaning. Further, interpretation is not static as the same dream experienced by different people acquires different meaning. It is, therefore, significant to note that when placed within a biographical notice the semiotic potential of the dream is enhanced. For example, Prophet Muhammad’s appearance in dreams is not a strange occurrence in sufi literature. But the mention of such visions in the biography of an Uwaisī sufi adds a unique significance to them.

In the medieval Muslim belief ru'yāʾi šāliḥa besides being treated as bashārat and continuation of prophecy, are also treated as mark of strength and perfection of faith for a Muslim. Most of the dream accounts in the Malfūẓāt belong to a special category of true dreams that are concerned with the visionary appearance of God and Prophet Muhammad. According to 'Abdu'l Ḥaq Muḥaddīṣ Dihlawī in the Taqmīl al imān, one who sees God in dream shall be relieved of sadness and be preserved from the distortion of faith; in the same manner to be blessed with the vision of Prophet Muhammad is reason for integrity of faith. Now, despite the general sacrilizing nature of both these dreams, it is the Prophet’s dream that is taken to be a sign of ni‘mat-i ‘uzmā or greatest blessing for Muhammad Hāshim. The sacrosanct notion associated with the Prophet’s vision obviously had a great acceptance in Islamic civilization and this belief was developed to

74 In a unique analysis of an Arabic biographical dictionary of the blind which was compiled by Khalil ibn Aybak Safaḏī in the fourteenth century, Fedwa Malti Douglas opines that when placed within a biographical notice the dream can link two semiotic perspectives: first it is a sign to the dreamer, and second it is a sign within the semiotic system of the biographical notice. See Fedwa Malti Douglas, “Dreams, the Blind, and the Semiotics of the Biographical Notice” in Studia Islamica, vol. 51 (1980), pp. 137-162.
such an extent by the seventeenth century that special formulae were prescribed by learned scholars for inducing such dreams. Our compiler guides ordinary Muslims to the methods prescribed in the epilogue of 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq's Madārij al nubūwat for acquisition of this great ni'mat.\textsuperscript{76} In contrast to the arduous technique and wearisome explanations inherent in the method of 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq, Muhammad Hāshim's own Shaikh has a simple procedure for induction of Prophet's vision. When the Shaikh was questioned in this regard he admitted to two techniques for acquiring the privileged vision. One technique was based on renunciation and ascetic observance, and the other way is to secure the tawajjūh of a shaikh-i kāmil (perfect shaikh). It is evident that the latter technique is preferred by Saiyid Ḥasan, who through an exercise of nominal tawajjūh (this denotes the master's activity by which he inwardly addresses the disciple's heart in order to control his mystical states) and suhbat (schooling by the master and his concrete bodily presence) could induce such visions.\textsuperscript{77} Unlike the method of the Muḥaddis that was open to practice by any common Muslim, the way of Saiyid Ḥasan was totally controlled by him, and the beneficence of Prophet's vision was bestowed as a mark of his favour on those whom he desired.

\textsuperscript{75} Manāqib...p. 124.
\textsuperscript{76} Two basic methods have been prescribed by 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq. The first technique involves invocation of constant zikr of Prophet; or the invocation of his physical form or that of his grave; or else invocation of constant prayers for the Prophet. The second formula prescribed by 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq is regarding constant remembrance of haqīqat muhammadiya or the absolute reality of Muhammad which is a composite of all the qualities of the Divine and is a bridge (barzakh) between the Divine and this world. Cf. Mafżūtāt I/77-78; Manāqib, pp. 150-154 for detailed citation of these techniques from 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq's Madārij al nubūwat.
\textsuperscript{77} Mafżūtāt I/78-79; Manāqib, p. 121.
In the light of above the understanding of dreams I shall examine a few dream narratives in the Malfūzāt-i Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlnumā in order to comprehend their significance for the dreamer and their overall purpose in the text. Majority of these dreams are concerned with the appearance of the Prophet. Normally, such dreams are classified as literal, that is, the dream content and the message conveyed in them is the same. In the opinion of some scholars literal dreams do not require any interpretation as their meaning is explicit.78 However, when placed within a biographical notice each dream, whether literal or symbolic, accumulates further meaning which is related to the larger context of the notice.

It is during his stay in Jaunpur that the Shaikh starts having certain extraordinary experiences that are indicative of his unique status in the spiritual hierarchy of the sufis of his day. In the first fa'īth a section entitled, ‘Those fawā'ih [benefits] which were evident from you [Saiyid Ḥasan ‘Rasūlnumā’] in this period’ records some of these occurrence. Most of these are records of dreams and visions of the Shaikh, which refer to his initiation and guidance through God and the Prophet. The very first experience of this nature that is related by Saiyid Ḥasan and recorded by Muhammad Hāshim is as follows:

Prophet Muhammad, May God bless him and grant him salvation, handed me over to Ḥaẓrat Abū Bakr, May God be pleased with him, and said, “Nurture (tarbiyat) him for a while. After which I shall myself groom him.” In the same manner God said to the Prophet, “Train him for a while. After which I shall myself nurture him”.79

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78 This is the understanding conveyed mainly in works of Leah Kinberg referred above.
79 According to Muhammad Hāshim, Saiyid Ḥasan said, “Ān Haẓrat ẓallā allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam marā ba-Haẓrat Abū Bakr razi allāh ta’āla’ ‘anhu sapurdand ki chand muddat tarbiyat ba-kunid. Ba’d az ān

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Although the author does not specify the nature of the above vision, what is extremely significant about it is Saiyid Ḥasan’s association with Abū Bakr, which has been established at the inclination of the Prophet without any physical connection. This narrative must be analyzed in light of a doubt raised earlier in this paper about the Qādirī affiliation of Saiyid Ḥasan. Amongst the sufis, the Malāmatiya and the Naqshbandiya trace their nisbat to the first Caliph. In fact, an intimate relationship exists between these two orders as the Malāmati current in Khurāsān is considered to be one of the most important predecessors of the early Naqshbandī Khwājagān, although the latter did not claim initiatic descent from them, as the notion of a silsila was in any event alien to the Malāmatīs.⁸⁰ Although, Muhammad Hāshim does not categorically address his Shaikh as such, several references to Malāmati conduct of the Saiyid - notably his strict adherence to sunnat (Prophet’s custom), poverty, observance of silent zikr, explicit invitation of reproach and rejection by intentional repulsive behaviour, are accounted for in the Malfuṣat. Also Muhammad Hāshim’s repeated references to Naqshbandī sources like the Rashahāt ’aynu’l hayāt of Kāshīfī, and Muhammad Pārsā’s Faṣl al khitāb for explaining the conduct of his Shaikh gives us ground for suspecting Saiyid Ḥasan’s Naqshbandī inclinations. Space restricts me from elucidating this feature further by citing evidence from the Malfuṣ. In the mood of the present discussion on the Uwaisīs, however, suffice it

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to recall that the Uwaisi phenomenon had acquired a special place in the discipline of the Naqshbandiya early in their history. The meeting of the Malāmatī and the Uwaisi trends in the person of Saiyid Ḥasan should, perhaps, be taken as an attempt to recover some concepts that had been pushed back by the more organized wing of the Naqshbandiya which had already emerged as a predominant order in the seventeenth century northern India. Amidst a galaxy of Naqshbandī mashāikh like Khwāja Khwurd (son of Khwāja Bāqī Billāh) and his successors who had tall claims to spiritual pedigree, Saiyid Ḥasan stakes his claim as an intercessor par excellence, Uwais Qarānī Sānī, for Muslims through his extraordinary ability to produce the vision of the Prophet at will. To this extent visionary experience of the Saiyid proposes a challenge to all those mashāikh who prescribed elaborate methods for disciples to follow in pursuit of salvation.

Another dream narrative belongs to the Saiyid’s days in Jaunpur. The Shaikh had seen a vision in his sleep, that has not been described, and was anxious about its interpretation. He sought a learned sufi of his day for its interpretation (ta’bhīr) and the interpretation affected a vision for him. The sufi interpreted the dream for Saiyid Ḥasan in the following way:

“This means that you [Saiyid Ḥasan] would not attain much except for dry asceticism, and that it was doubtful if you reach God”. Listening to this interpretation he [Saiyid Ḥasan] had a cramp in my stomach. As he aimed for the pond he excreted. He washed his soiled clothes in the water of that pond and after performing a ghusl (bath) returned. In a while he was reminded of that interpretation. He sighed painfully and said [to himself],

“Alas! I shall not attain God”. This thought made him excrete again. He had barely walked a few steps and was reminded of the same prediction which ended in the same result as above. This happened twenty seven times till, at last, he fainted. He saw in a vision that Prophet Muhammad, May God bless him and grant him and his progeny salvation, was sitting on something and near that place there was a date palm. Most of the height of the tree was supported by a mound which had been built for this purpose. The Prophet, May God grant him peace and salvation, pointed to the tree with his blessed finger and with a tongue that related the miracle said, “This tree has attained this height with the aid of the mound. Understand that the meaning of this statement is a consolation. In other words, the height of this tree is dependent on this mound. The stature of your gnosis depends on us. And just as the strength of that mound prevents harm to the tree, whoever is assisted and helped by me, how can he be in trouble?” The Shaikh woke up, praised the Prophet and said thanks for this good tiding.81

Muhammad Hâshim describes the period which preceeded this dream as intense in terms of ascetic and devotional practices which Saiyid Hasan had become committed to. The Shaikh in fact relates these circumstances in an autobiographical account. In those days he would spend little time in learning or imparting education, and most of his time

was taken up with doing *zikr* of Allāh that would lead him to an ecstatic state (*wajd*). His determination and zeal to reach God was unabated despite the negative interpretation of his dream by the sufi. His mental rejection of this pessimistic interpretation is physically enacted in his repeated defecation. As if repeated excretion would rid him of the impious prediction. The dream that follows is clearly linked to his physical exertions and anxiety since the ground for it is set by his devotions and frail state. It is significant that Saiyid Ḥasan relates his dream before an audience and interprets it for those who could not understand the symbolic gesture of the Prophet. Just as the palm tree, protected by the mound was able to reach a great height, similarly the Prophet promised to protect and nurture Saiyid Ḥasan so that he may reach the highest station of the Path. In the Urdu translation of the *Malīfūzāt*, the Prophet Muhammad is said to be standing on a pulpit in the dream and this is a reiteration of his role as a sermoniser for the community. His message in this dream is not only a personal communication of his promise to guide Saiyid Ḥasan, but it is simultaneously symbolic of his instruction to the community at large about his intention with regard to the Saiyid.

Muhammad Ḥāshim has recorded another dream from the early period of the Shaikh’s life in Jaunpur:

During those days he saw in a vision that the Prophet, may God grant him peace and salvation, was sitting on a chair. He had a ring in his hand and the word Allāh was inscribed on it and the light of the ring shone as brightly as the light of the sun. The Prophet summoned him and said: “The name of Allāh must be looked after in this way”. He pressed the ring to my right eye in the manner in which wax is stamped. The ray of light from the ring penetrated my eye just as a spark of fire penetrates wax. There was
smoke from my eye and the sign of Allāh appeared. Then the blessed hand was placed on his left eye, it also emitted smoke in the same manner, and from that eye also the same print was divulged. The Prophet then placed his hand on my heart and the same print came into my heart, and the smoke of cruelty was removed and the same honoured and exalted name became apparent and evident. When I woke up I found the name of Allāh printed on these three places, not for a single moment or breath did it disappear from sight.82

Unlike the above dreams that are inductive in nature, this dream is primarily one of spiritual accreditation. It conveys the idea of Saiyid Ḥasan’s appointment as the khātim al walāya or ‘seal of sainthood’.83 The Prophet had a ring in his hand with ‘Allāh’ inscribed on it. The ring represents the seal of God. In the dream Prophet’s act of stamping this ring on the eyes of Saiyid Ḥasan is symbolic of the Prophet setting the ‘seal of friendship with God’ (khātim al walāya) on the Shaikh. In other words, Saiyid Ḥasan is anointed with the status of chief amongst the auliya’. In the dream Muhammad by virtue

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83 The doctrine of khātim al walāya or ‘seal of friendship with God’ was evolved by al Ḥakīm al Tirmīzī in the ninth century A.D. According to this doctrine God choses his prophets (ambiya) and friends (auliyā’). Both, ambiya and auliya’ are arranged in a relationship of hierarchy with God wherein the former are placed above the latter. Now, amongst all the prophets God perfected prophethood in Muhammad and set a seal upon it that is known as khātim al mubīwāt. And because of this seal neither Muhammad’s carnal soul (nafs) nor the Satan found the means to penetrate the place of prophethood. Similarly, God choses from amongst his auliya’ a chief and sets a seal on him. This is the doctrine of khātim al walāya or ‘seal of friendship with God’, this personage being the highest spiritual successor to the Prophet Muhammad, the summit and culmination of the spiritual hierarchy. Cf. Radtke and O’Kane, The Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism: Two Works by Al-Ḥakīm Al-Tirmīzī, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996, pp. 100-110.
of being the ‘seal of prophets’ and the chief intercessor for *auliyāʾ allāh* is shown as the executor of the will of God. This dream also indicates the Shaikh’s crossing over the initial stage of *tauba* or repentance wherein the wayfarer relieves himself of *mawāniʿ* (hindrances), symbolically represented by ‘cruelty and darkness’, and clears his heart of everything but God. It is again through the intercession of Prophet Muhammad, figurally illustrated in his touching the Saiyid’s heart, that the latter is able to experience this state. Saiyid Ḥasan’s statement that he actually found ‘Allāh’ printed on his eyes and heart need not be taken literally. As such this is merely an expression of his belief that dreams are translated into objective reality. Also, the dream has conveyed to the Shaikh his position in the spiritual hierarchy of the *auliyāʾ*, and by stating that he actually found ‘Allāh’ printed on his eyes and heart, he is seeking physical confirmation of his dream.

The following dream conveys two ideas: one is about the spiritual accreditation of Saiyid Ḥasan, and the other idea displays the virtue of Uwaisī relationship that lays emphasis on bonding between spiritual instructor and his initiate in physical absentia. It is interesting to relate the context in which the dream is set. In the eleventh *fāʿīb*, which is dedicated to the *kamālāt* (wonderous deeds) of Saiyid Ḥasan, Muhammad Ḥāshim records a few dreams as told to him by his Shaikh. The expressing of *kamālāt* (literally perfections, but here miracles or wonders), which is otherwise an embarrassment for the sufis, is permitted for those who have overcome their humanly qualities and have imbibed the virtues of the Divine for purpose of instruction and guidance of *murīds*. Because such sufis exist in proximity to God they are placed on a plane which is far superior to the
existence of ordinary human beings. It is with this understanding and consciousness that the Shaikh narrated the following dream to the compiler. He said:

“I saw in a vision that Prophet Muhammad, May God grant him peace and salvation, is standing on my left side and all the prophets preceding the coming of Islam, are standing lined up on my right. And before me God most pure is manifest. God blessed me and said, “I have kept you under my protection. You have the row of pre-Islamic prophets on your one side. And on the other side Prophet Muhammad, the last of the prophets, is present”. In this manner this bashārat (good news) was repeated several times. After this the Prophet repeated this bashārat. [Muhammad Hāshim then goes on to explain] Since man’s heart is on the left side, which is the repository of knowledge and gnosism and receives faiż (divine effulgence) from the Prophet, therefore, Prophet Muhammad must appear on the left. 84

The imagery evoked in this dream is a figural representation of Saiyid Hāshim’s interpretation about true dreams as harbingers of bashārat and as a part of prophecy. Simultaneously, this dream is also illustrative about Saiyid Ḥasan’s position as khātim al wilaya or the ‘possessor of seal of friendship with God’, this personage being the highest spiritual successor to Prophet Muhammad, the summit and culmination of the spiritual

84 Dar wāqi’a didam ki zāt-i sharīf sallā allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam dar jānīb-i yasār-i man wa jam‘i ambiya wa dīgar ‘āla nabi’ wa ‘alayhim salām dar jānīb ba yamin-i man saf basta istāda-and wa dar muqābal-i man haq-i subhāna tajallī farmūdā bashārat dād ki “Mā turā chiṅīn ṭīf dāshtand. Binam ki yak ‘taraf-i tū jam‘i ambiya-and wa tarf-i dīgar-i tū khātimu’n nabin sallā allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam”, chand marta ba farmūdand. Ba z ba-hamin qism zāt-i sharīf sallā allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam, wa hamin qism chand marta ba farmūdand. Ba-khāṭīr-i faqīr khayāl mi-rasad ki chun dīl ba-jānīb-i yasār-ast wa ān maṣīlar-i mu‘ārif az hamān jānāb muqaddas-i muṭāhaqqīn bādā banābar ān zāt-i muḥāraq nakwī ba-jihāt-i tā’īm wa Tā‘ār nazar-i muḥāraq ba-jānīb-i yasār tavaqquf farmūdā-būdand, wa allāh a‘lam. See Mafīzāt-i, I/63; Manāqib, p. 364. See Appendix VI/5 for Persian text. I may mention here that this episode has been related in the tenth fa‘iḥ of the manuscript that I have seen, while the Urdu translation includes it in the eleventh fa‘iḥ.
hierarchy. Just as God chose Prophet Muhammad as the seal of prophecy (God perfected prophethood in Muhammad and set a seal upon it marking the end of prophecy), similarly God has chosen Saiyid Ḥasan as chief in the hierarchy of auliya' (saints). However, in the spiritual hierarchy, the auliya' are always placed secondary to the prophets - a view elaborated elsewhere by the compiler of the Malfūzāt. But in the present dream Saiyid Ḥasan is placed in the same row as the prophets who stand lined up on his right. The Shaikh's placement in the dream conveys not only his succession to the prophetic virtues, but it also displays transgression of traditional observance of status quo between saints and prophets. The positioning of Muhammad on to the left of Saiyid Ḥasan in proximity to the latter's heart for transferrence of divine effulgence has been observed by the compiler himself. What can be added further by way of explanation is that the dream is also symbolic of the Uwaisi connection between the Prophet and Saiyid Ḥasan, as the transmission of faiz from God to the Saiyid takes place through mediation of Muhammad without physical contact. Further, it may be recalled that in the understanding of our compiler virtues of prophets continue to exist even after their demise, and that people other than prophets can imbibe these. According to this interpretation, even if Saiyid Ḥasan is not a prophet he is definitely akin to one. Finally, true dreams are good tidings conveyed from God. In this dream the good news which God and Muhammad separately repeat for our Shaikh is that they have granted him protection. In other words he is assured of a privileged position vis a vis other auliya'.

85 Malfūzāt, II/188-189; Manāqib, pp. 274-278.
Just as in the above vision Saiyid Ḥasan’s position is delineated amidst the prophets, similarly in the following dream his status amongst the auliya’ of Delhi is defined. Muhammad Hāshim records Saiyi Ḥasan’s dream in these words:

“I saw that at the dargāh of Shaikh Naṣīruddin Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, May his grave be hallowed, an ʿurs gathering is in progress and I am occupied in samāʾ in that gathering. Suddenly, I saw that the following words are written in the khatt-i suls [decorative naskhī script] on the skirt: The king of all the mendicants of Delhi and other provinces of the country. The naubat was being played in that dargāh. I called out, “Play the naubat for me, because now, it is my turn”. They played the naubat for me. I said [to myself], “What will you gain from this?” I again called out, “Stop!” That naubat was not silenced, and it continued to play in the same manner”.86

The dream is set in the dargāh (lit. court) tomb shrine of the great Chishtī, Shaikh Naṣīruddin (d. A.D.1356) who enjoyed a tremendous reputation as a shcolar and mystic of Delhi. In popular memory he is referred to as chirāgh-i-Dihlī or ‘the light of Delhi’, an honorific indicative of his superior position in the spiritual and temporal terms as a wali (saint) amongst the sufis of this city.87 Complementing the notion of Naṣīruddin’s temporal authority is the naubat, an important ritual of medieval Indo Muslim kingship, which is being played for the Shaikh in his dargāh where he holds court for those who come for his ziyārat (pilgrimage). In the dream Saiyid Ḥasan is in attendance of an


87 For the notion of spiritual and temporal authority of medieval sufi shaikhs, specially the Chishtī auliya’, cf. Simon Digby, “The Sufi Shaikh as a Source of Authority in Mediaeval India”, Purusartha, vol. 9
audition gathering which is a part of ceremonies observed in commemoration of the death of Shaikh Nasiruddin. Such gatherings often generate extraordinary emotion among sufis, and it is during the conduct of samā' that the Saiyid observed the writing on the hem of his dress. The message tells him that he is the king not only of the mendicants of Delhi but also of the faqīrs living in other provinces. The large naskhī script in which this message is conveyed is symbolic of its heavenly transmission since it is the same script that the Saiyid saw in another vision of the lauh-i mahfūz. At this point Saiyid Ḥasan, obviously in a charged state of emotion, calls out to the musicians of Naṣīruddin's dargāh to conduct the courtly music for him as it has been ordained by the heavenly script since he is in position of authority superior to that of Naṣīruddin. After a while as the Saiyid's passion wears down he questions the purpose of his own action and asks the musicians to stop playing. The Shaikh's vacillating between the states of spiritual rapture and sobriety are characteristic of his Malāmatī conduct that refrains a sufi from holding any pretentious position. Finally, despite Saiyid Ḥasan's order the naubat continued to be played for him. This indicates to the dreamer a confirmation of belief in his favoured position vis a vis Shaikh Naṣīruddin by all those present in the shrine for the observance of the latter's 'urs. The exalted status of the Shaikh in the spiritual hierarchy of the saints of his age is further given expression to in an autobiographical vision related by Saiyid Ḥasan. The compiler records a vision as narrated to him by his Shaikh:

88 For this vision see Mafīzūl, II/63-64; Manāqib, pp. 365-366.
In Phulwāri, I was sitting in a sama' gathering, Shaikh Nūruddīn, who was one of my acquaintances, was also sitting near by. Suddenly, I saw that something like a bādshahi chatr (or chhatr the royal parasol symbolic of sovereignty) was brought and they placed it on my head and said, “This chatr is a noble personage, that the Prophet, May God grant him peace and salvation, has conferred on you.” I bent myself and extended its shade to Shaikh Nūruddīn. Seeing this, the Shaikh became perplexed. 89

Sometimes hagiographers use dreams as a subterfuge to convey ideas that may be otherwise difficult for them to relate. The following dream may be observed in this light:

One night I (Saiyid Ḥasan) saw the noble personage [Prophet Muhammad] May God grant him peace and salvation, that he was constructing a palace (aiwān) on the notched parpets (kunguras) of the door to Qadamgāh Sharīf, and said that “We have constructed this palace for you. That is, this will be your mazār (tomb)”. I beseeched, “I cannot dare that Huzur’s Qadamgāh be below and that I be placed higher than that”. You again repeated your words and I too repeated my response. When I woke up I sighed that why did I answer against the command (of the Prophet). 90

Several dream visions in the M alfuzat-i Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlnumā and Faizān-i- Ḥasan Rasūlnumā are set in the Qadamgāh Sharīf. This shrine, which was set up somewhere in the early fourteenth century in the city of Jahānpanāh, houses the footprint of Prophet Muhammad. The authenticity of the relic, however, is debatable about which

89 Dar Phulwārī dar majlis-i 'urs nishista-būdam wa Shaikh Nūruddīn ki az 'āshnāyān būda nīz nazdīk nishista-būd. Ki yakā-yak didam ki miṣl-i chatr bādshahi chīzī awurda wa bar sar-ī man īstāda kardand wa guftand ki in chīz zāt-i sharīf ast šallā allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam ki tura ‘ināyat shuda. Man kham shuda. Shaikh maqūr rā nīz dar ān sāyā’ kashidām. Rang-i Shaikh az didān-i ʾīn ḥālat mutaghāyīr gasht. See Malfuzāt, II/66; Manāqib, p. 364; see Appendix VI/7 for Persian text. Saiyid Ḥāshim also records that in Narnaul if anyone troubled his Shaikh he was admonished by the Prophet in dream in these words, “Be warned, do not do so, else you will be spoiled”, Ibid.

90 Shabī didam zāt-i sharīf šallā allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam rā ki bar kungurahā’i darwāza Qadamgāh aiwānī mi-sāzand wa mi-farmāyand ki “In aiwān barāʾī būdān-i tū mi-sāzīm”. Kazāyat az mazār bāshad īltamās namūdam ki murā ʾi qudrat-āst ki Qadamgāh durūsī bāshad wa man dar bulandājīyāj girām. Bāz hamin farmāyand wa man hamin jāwāb baʾarz-i aqdas ‘īlā mi-rasānām chun bidār shudam taʾssuf
doubt is raised even by the compiler of the *Malfūzāt*. Nevertheless, in view of the Shaikh’s extreme devotion and humility towards the shrine, its occurrence in his visions acquires a special significance. In Muslim belief one of the basic functions of the *mazār* is to serve as a pilgrimage for those who seek intercession of the interred one in their affairs. In this dream Prophet Muhammad’s construction of a *mazār* on top of the parapit of Qadamgāh is suggestive of his acceding to Saiyid Ḥasan’s greater intercessory abilities. But the correct position in this matter is that Prophet Muhammad by virtue of being the ‘seal of the prophets’ is the foremost intercessor for the Muslim community. And even if Saiyid Ḥasan is supposedly the ‘seal of sainthood’ (as is suggested to him in other dreams), his position as intercessor is subordinate to that of the Prophet. The Shaikh’s repeated protestations against Prophet’s recurrent insistence for the construction of Saiyid Ḥasan’s tomb above the latter’s foot shrine is instructive of reaffirmation of orthodox view on the issue of superiority of the prophets *vis a vis* the *auliyā‘*. Also, it may be argued that in this dream Prophet’s appearance serves to establish the sanctity of the Qadamgāh Sharīf in the eyes of those for whose benefit the dream was narrated.

khwurdam ki chirā jawābī bar khilāf-i amr az man sādar shud. *Malfūzāt*, 11/78; *Manāqib*, p. 378; see Appendix VI/8 for Persian text.

91 One day in the *majlis* of Saiyid Ḥasan a question was raised about the proof, or rather the want of proof in the matter of the relic at Qadamgāh. Someone in the gathering remarked that there is no proof in the *Tawarikh-i-Firoz Shahī*, and neither any *muhaddīs* nor *imām* has made any observation in support of the Qadamgāh Sharīf. Someone else observed that probably it was due to this that the Bādshāh (Awrangzeb) did not visit there for pilgrimage. The Shaikh’s own response is significant as he affirmed that proof should not be made the basis of belief in this matter. The pious name of the Prophet is in itself sufficient for securing divine blessings and grace for those desirous of his *ziyārat* and experiencing its affects. See *Malfūzāt*, 1/126-127; *Manāqib*, p. 230; also cf. *Fatān-i Ḥasan Rasūlnamā*, op. cit., *faie* 9, pp. 55-59.
Another autobiographical dream of the Saiyid is significant for the self-identification of the Shaikh as Uwais Qarani. Like several other dreams in the Malfuẓāt

Saiyid Hasan related this anecdote to his biographer:

Once I [Saiyid Hasan] saw Prophet Muhammad in a dream. He said that, “You will become Uwais Qarani.” I beseeched, “I am not deserving of any [such] thing but, God is very generous on this worthless one.” Prophet Muhammad then repeated the same. This weak author says that from this sign and some other characteristics, for example, the plucking out of teeth, it is known that he had acquired the station of Ḥazrat Uwais Qarani, and was the guardian of the Uwaisiya way whose principal consideration was purification of the heart and enlightenment of the soul. And in the external way did not have a master.92

Here the dream content and the message are the same. The compiler himself confirms that such things (as the above dream) indicate that in the spiritual hierarchy of the auliya’ Saiyid Hasan has been anointed with the same station as that of Khwaja Uwais Qarani. Also his manner was that of Uwais Qarani as he did not have any zāhirī (outward) mediator for purpose of refinement of the heart and esoteric enlightenment.93

For Muhammad Hāshim and his fellow disciples their Shaikh Saiyid Hasan ‘Rasūlnamā’ was Uwais Qarani Sānī or the Second Uwais Qarani in the new millennium of Islam which succeeded that of the original Uwais Qarani who was a contemporary of

93 Ibid; ibid.
Prophet Muhammad. Saiyid Ḥasan’s identification with Uwais Qarānī is not simply happening in visions but is also a result of his pathological condition as is evident from numerous references in his biography, the most amazing one being the extraction of his teeth as a mark of devotion to the Prophet.94 Of the various features associated with the legend of Uwais Qarānī, the two most relevant in deciphering the dream visions in the *Malfūṣāt-i Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlnamā* are: Uwais Qarānī is the best of *tābiʿīn* (*tābiʿ* is one who had accepted Islam without seeing Muhammad), and this fact is indicative of his telepathic communication with Muhammad giving credence to the notion of Uwais Qarānī as a ‘prototype’ Uwaisī; and Uwais Qarānī’s role as an intercessor for the Muslim community.95 Both these features are enacted for Saiyid Ḥasan as part of the process of establishing his identification with the original Uwais only through his dream visions. To this extent our hagiographer has used dreams as a tactical measure to express ideas which would have been otherwise difficult for him to tell. All the dream anecdotes discussed so far, with the exception of the one about Naṣīruddīn’s tomb, satisfy the condition of extraphysical communication between the Shaikh and his Prophet. Generally speaking, given the nature of Islamic belief in dreams, visionary appearance of the Prophet is treated as a mark of personal distinction for the dreamer. What distinguishes the Prophet’s visionary appearance in this case is the attribution of Uwaisī motif to their content by virtue of their placement in the biographical notice of an Uwaisī sufi.

Regarding the other feature about Saiyid Ḥasan’s role as an intercessor for believers, this idea has been alluded to in the dream of the Qadambāgh Sharīf.

94 For this incident see *Malfūṣāt*, I/117-118; *Manāqib*, p. 194.
Nevertheless, a better illustration of the same notion shall be observed in the dream narratives of those who associated with the Shaikh. According to the Muslim eschatological belief Prophet Muhammad shall be the chief intercessor for Muslims on the Day of Judgement. On this day Muslims will be blessed with the vision of the Prophet. Now, in conformity with the Muslim belief in \textit{ru'ya şāliḥa}, Prophet’s vision in a dream is equivalent to his appearance in reality. Therefore, a Muslim could be anointed with this vision even before the Day of Judgement and hence be assured about Prophet’s intercession in his affairs. In the medieval Muslim worldview this intercessionary role was often assumed by the sufi Shaikh. Alluding to this concept Muhammad Hāshim observes at one point in the text that a Shaikh makes \textit{murīds} either with the intent of reaching them to God, or the Shaikh would act as an agent for his intercession. In either case the Shaikh should be \textit{Kāmil} (perfect) and \textit{mukammil} (perfecting), for only such a one could reach the disciple to God and protect him from tortures impending in the grave and on the Day of Judgement.\footnote{For Uwais Qaranī as an intercessor cf. Chapter IV section I above.} Herein lies the significance of ‘Rasūlnumā’ or guide to the Prophet. Saiyid Ḥasan’s own status as chief among the \textit{auliyā’}, and as an intercessor of the stature of Uwais Qaranī, has been confirmed to him by the Prophet through visions. By virtue of the \textit{kamālāt} inherent in the \textit{auliyā’ allāh} he secures the appearance of Prophet Muhammad for those who come in contact with him. In the process of guiding people to the Prophet (intercessor \textit{par excellence}) in dreams he verifies his own position as ‘Rasūlnumā’.

\footnote{Malfūzāt, 1/122; \textit{Manāqib}, p. 202.}
So far I have related those particular dreams of Saiyid Ḥasan in which the Prophet appeared. These dreams were in the notice of the dreamer. The Malfūzāt, however, contains several dream notices of the Shaikh which have been dreamed by someone else. The presence of such dreams in the notices of the dreamed indicates that dreams can be tied into a notice not only by the biographical fact that a certain person has dreamed them but also by the content of the dream itself as well. This shows that the dream is not merely subjective but has an objective existence as well. Were it merely subjective, its content would not be significant for another biographical notice. I shall now relate a few dreams from the notices of the Saiyid Ḥasan’s disciples which go on to either reiterate his privileged position as a wali of God and the Prophet, or, define another aspect of the Uwaisī phenomenon, i.e the relationship between pir and murīd, as expressed in the Malfūzāt-i Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlumā.

The relationship between shaikh and murid can be called the cornerstone of all sufi organisations, and it is well known that it generally got tighter over the centuries, even if the stages of its development have to be clarified. By the seventeenth century notion of the silsila based on a lineal chain of master and disciple, stretching back to Prophet Muhammad, was deeply embedded in medieval psyche. Nevertheless, in this milieu the Uwaisī phenomenon, which is based on absence of physical interaction with a living shaikh existed in the practice of Saiyid Ḥasan. Not unlike another Uwaisī Shaikh

97 This shows that a dream is not merely subjective but is objective as well. This point has been discussed by F. M. Douglas, “Dreams, The Blind, And The Semiotics of the Biographical Notice”, op.cit., pp. 146-147.
98 The attempt at establishing an overall history of sufi thought and organization by J. S. Trimingham in The Sufi orders in Islam, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, has been seriously questioned by scholars.
Baha’uddin Naqshband,99 with whom he claims spiritual contact, Saiyid Hasan displays a critical attitude towards mashāikhat as an indispensable means of guaranteeing the soundness of one’s mystical endeavour. In the second Ǧā’īḥ of the Malfūṣāt Muhammad Ḥāshim informs us that his Shaikh would normally not enroll murīds, but nor would he deny his faʻiz (favour) to one who who sought benefit through sincere devotion to him. In this manner several people were favoured with his faʻiz.100 The compiler goes on to observe that this attitude is reminiscent of the practice of Khwāja ʿAbdu’l Khāliq Ghujdawānī who said: Close the door of pīrī-murīdī but continue the transmission of faʻiz; abandon khalwat (seclusion) and benefit people through suḥbat (companionship).101

While Muhammad Ḥāshim attempts to systematize his Shaikh’s practice in conformity to the Naqshbandī position as observed in the post Baha’uddin period of this order’s history, Saiyid Hasan has more practical reason’s for showing an aversion to the business of pīrī. He is contemptuous of the pīrān-i zamān (Shaikhs of his day) who falsely claim to be ahl-i kamāl (this refers to sufis who possess wonders as a divine favour) as a result of which the simple minded ones get caught in the net of their deceit and are led astray. Such

99 Saiyid Hasan’s Uwaisī connection with Baha’uddin Naqshband is referred to in a na’īt composed by the Shaikh, see Manāqīb, p. 434; For Baha’uddin Naqshband’s critical attitude towards the silsila see, Jurgen Paul, Doctrine and Organization: The Khwājagān/Naqshbandiya in the first generation after Baha’uddin, op.cit., p. 18 & fn. 40.

100 Malfūṣāt, I/30; Manāqīb., p. 100.

101 Ibid. This dictum has been cited from the Naqshbandī hagiography called the Rashahāt ʿayn al ḥayāt of Fakhruddin Kāshīfī. Ghujdawānī’s advice is based on his principle of khalwat dar anjāman (retirement amidst society) according to which a wayfarer is physically present amongst people but is inwardly absorbed with God. This attitude is critical of the practice of earlier Shaikhs who treated khalwat and chilla (40 days seclusion) as essential parts of their training. Since the time of Ghujdawānī khalwat refers to a state of personal nearness of the wayfarer to God and not to contemplative exercise in seclusion. For more details on the subject see Jurgen Paul, Doctrine and Organization. The Khwājagān/Naqshbandiya in the first generation after Baha’uddin, op. cit., pp. 30-34.
deceitful ones are incapable of leading anyone to the ultimate goal of the Path and blame the murids for lacking in ability. Even as they themselves have not crossed stages of murīdi, they are anxious about enrolling disciples and then making boastful claims about their prowess. In view of these circumstance Saiyid Ḥasan recommends discipleship of the Prophet who is the most virtuous and universally acknowledged mediator. How is it possible to establish a relationship with such a pious spirit? To this the Shaikh’s response is that whenever love and desire for a pīr overcomes someone he must focus his entire tawājuh on the Prophet, and ask God for help in every action, and this shall secure the goal for him. And, supposing there is a need for mediation of a pīr in this matter it would be taken care of from the ghāʾib (unseen world) - either the one who desires would reach the pīr or the pīr would reach him.\(^\text{102}\)

In the fifteenth fa‘ib which is devoted to the sons and disciples of Saiyid Ḥasan there is a very interesting account of association between Saiyid Ḥasan ‘Rasūlnamā’ and Shāh Ilāh Yār Şāhib Sākin of Bajwārā, who was initially a murid of Shāh ʿInāyatu’llāh Qādirī. This is the longest narrative of a kind in the Malfuṣāt that is informative about the actual practice of sufi discipline as observed in the system of our Shaikh. What is even more engaging are dream episodes that determine the actions of Saiyid Ḥasan and Shāh Ilāh Yār. The latter had been initiated and granted khilāfīt by Shāh ʿInāyatu’llāh Qādirī into the Qādirī, Chishtī and Naqshbandī orders. When Shāh ʿInāyat left for pilgrimage to

\(^{102}\) For details see Malfuṣāt, I/119-121; Manāqib, pp. 199-203.
Mecca\(^{103}\) he advised his distressed pupil, who had yet to resolve lingerings of unlawful beliefs, to seek his fate in Delhi. A wiseman in this city reassured Saiyid Shāh Ilāh Yār about finding a \(pīr\) and advised him to follow a certain course of action (not defined by the author) that would enable him to overcome the \(rūḥ\) (spirit) of the Prophet or receive beneficence from the spirit of a wiseman. Within a few days of the observance of this advice Saiyid Shāh Ilāh Yār had a dream which he later related to the compiler:

On one of the nights, on a Thursday, I saw Ḥaẓrat Murshid (Saiyid Ḥasan), may his secret be sanctified, in a dream, and he held both the shoulders of this slave with his hands, and placing his lips on my lips he breathed with extreme concentration on them. I felt the impact of this in my entire body, in fact, I felt it in the root of every hair. But for twelve days I could not submit myself before your presence. I again saw a vision that I have arrived at a river. I came up to the bridge of that river with the intention of doing \(wuzu\) (ablution). When I went to the steps of that bridge and I started performing ablutions, suddenly my foot slipped and I fell into the river. Suddenly, a person appeared, and by the bank of the river there was a horse, he mounted me on that [horse], pulled its reins, and reached me to the elegant \(madrasa\) of Ḥaẓrat Murshid. Several people were taking leave from his presence. The \(faqīr\) (Shāh Ilāh Yār) was also summoned. He (Saiyid Hasan) said that, "State your conditions". I appealed, "What is the order in the matter of this \(faqīr\)?" He said, "Whoever wishes to taste my \(kichri\) [\(khichri\)] should come tomorrow afternoon."\(^{104}\)

\(^{103}\) According to Ḥabību'llāh, Shāh 'Ināyat died on way to Harmain Sharif in A.H. 1101/ A.D. 1690, see \(Zikr jami‘auliyā'-i Dihli,\) op.cit, p. 143.

\(^{104}\) Shāh Ilāh Yār Šāhīb related his experience to the compiler in the following words: \(Dar shabī az shabhā‘ī‘ juma’ Ḥaẓrat-i murshid quddisa sirruhu rā dar khwāb didam ki har dā kafaf banda rā ba-dast-i mubārak-i khwud girīsṭa wa lab-i khwud rā bar lab-i faqīr nihāda batavajjhu-i tāmm dam fāmūdand aṣār-i ān dar sīnā‘i hol dar har bun-i muy‘i mastaušī shud. Lekin ba-sabab-i bālīghī tā dā az dāh rōz ba-huṣūr no-tawānīstam rasīd. Ba‘z dar wāqī‘a didam ki bar daryā‘ī rāsīda-am bar pul-i ān daryā‘ī bar ānadam ba-irāda‘ wuzu. Chun bar zīnāhā ba ān pul raftam wa shuru‘ dar wuzu kardam ki yakā-yak pā balaghīd wa dar daryā‘ uftādam. Nagāh shakhšī paidā shud wa bar kīnār-i daryā aspī būd bar ān sawār...\)
The above sequence is clearly one of initiation and the manner of its occurrence defines the Uwaisī phenomenon as observed in the practice of Saiyid Hasan. Although the symbolism of the dreams is not complicated, nevertheless, their explanation requires acquaintance with certain ideas that have been alluded to elsewhere in the text. Shah Ilāh Yār’s anxiety about finding a guide for himself in Delhi and observance of certain exercise prescribed to him by an elder in that city creates the circumstance for this dream. Although the nature of exercise is not explained one can assume that it is something akin to ṭābi‘a a technique whereby an adept concentrates on the inward as well as the outward image and person of his master, whether present or absent, living or dead, and enters into his heart, firmly believing that the master is a bearer and transmitter of the divinely emanating fa‘iz. The technique opens up the adept’s person for receipt of this fa‘iz from his master. Perhaps the elder had revealed the identity of Shah Ilāh Yār’s future guide to him and the latter exercised ṭābi‘a with respect to him. Nevertheless, what is significant is that prior to any physical association, a spiritual bonding transpires between Shah Ilāh Yār and his Uwaisī Shaikh as the latter breathes into his mouth in the dream. This action is symbolic of the attitude of tawajjuh which the master uses to funnel his energy into the disciple. To this extent it is complementary to observance of ṭābi‘a. Further, Saiyid Hasan had kept a firm hold of the adept’s shoulders while touching and breathing into his mouth. It is quite evident that this represents Shaikh’s bodily presence in the dream and

conveys the idea of suhbat (companionship), a technique used by the master to transmit his qualities and attributes to a willing recipient. The dream is a perfect example of Uwaisī style initiation.

But the dreamer makes a delay in translating his vision into actuality for twelve days. According to the Urdu text, this episode is followed by another dream in which Shāh Ilāh Yār is given explicit instruction by the Prophet to visit Saiyid Ḥasan’s seminary. It is significant that the Prophet’s vision occurs to the Shāh only after his dream initiation at the hands of Saiyid Ḥasan and after he has secured the benefit of the latter’s tawajjuh and suhbat. The dream continues and the dreamer sees a river, which is indicative of his journey to the Shaikh. His desire for ablution signifies the devout nature of his forthcoming visit. But his own lack of conviction in this affair is illustrated by his fall in the river. In the method of Saiyid Ḥasan when one is firm in his desire for a pīr the ghā’ib (the unseen world) ensures the fulfillment of this craving. In the dream this instruction is enacted in the form of a heavenly being who pulls out Shāh Ilāh Yār from the river and mounting him on the horse firmly sets him for pilgrimage to his Shaikh. On reaching his destination he finds himself amidst an assemblage of petitioners who solicit the indulgence of Ḥaẓrat Murshid in their affairs. Shāh Ilāh Yār also makes an appeal

105 In the fifth chapter that is devoted to the mukāshafat and kharq-i ādat of the Shaikh, Muhammad Ḥāshim explains that the second great miracle of his Shaikh, after mukāshafat-i-Ilihi, is his ability to show people the vision of the Prophet. Although this good fortune is conferred on the auliya’ after they have experienced several unveilings and miracles, but the Shaikh’s disciples could attain this through a little tawajjuh (this denotes the master’s activity by which he inwardly addresses the disciples heart inorder to control his mystical states) and suhbat (schooling by the master and his concrete bodily presence) of the Shaikh. Cf. Malfūṣat, l/50-51; Manāqib, pp. 121-122.
when summoned and is instructed by the Shaikh to attend on him the next day if he wished to receive his kichri (khichri a dish made of rice). An invitation to share food of spiritual adepts in visions is symbolic of suggestion to partake in spiritual repast with them. This dream is translated into the waking consciousness for Shāh Ilāh Yār as he relates:

In the morning I had a disagreement with the owner of the place where I was staying, and I left that place. I presented myself before the Shaikh and told him about my condition. He said, “Take your two nān and khichri. Study and pay attention!” People were surprised at how easily you had admitted me in the circle of your servants.106

Normally it was the practice of medieval shaikhs to provide food for their visitors.107 But in this particular context distribution of khichri seems to be a part of an initiation ritual of the madrasa of Saiyid Hasan, where the rite symbolises transference of the Shaikh’s spiritual energy to the initiate. In the Urdu text, this is further illustrated by the reverence displayed by other students in acceptance of the khichri as tabarruk. The somewhat envious response of other students here is understandable in view of the Shaikh’s reluctance to recruit disciples. Saiyid Hasan’s own response, however, was

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106 'Ala’s şubāh dar jāy ki mī-būdam ba-ṣāhib-i ān jā ranjischī dar miyān āmad tark ān maqām namūdām. Dar humān waqt ba-khidmat rasīdam ‘arz-i aływāl kardam. Farmūdand, “Bar dā nān wa kichri khwud rā ba-girad ba khwāndan muqaiyad bāšh”. Mardum muta‘ajjib gardīdand ki chigūna ba-in sur’at dākhil-i khādimān. See Mafīẓat, II/120; Manāqib, pp. 416; Appendix VI/11 for Persian text. The Urdu text gives a more exaggerated version of this account. For example it is Muhammad Faiyāz, the Shaikh’s son-in law who offers the khichri to Shāh Ilāh Yār. Further, the dreamer mentions that as everyone congratulated him and took a grain of khichri as a tabarruk (benediction).

107 In the medieval times a sufi master would build an elaborate khānaqah or hospice which may comprise of a set of buildings including a mosque, which often functioned as a madrasa; a jamā‘at khāna for lodging inmates and visitors; a langar khāna or community kitchen for feeding inmates and visitors. However, Saiyid Hasan’s set up was a modest establishment comprising of a simple house and madrasa near Kulālī Bagh. He never built a mansion or a rauza for himself. Visitors were received outside the precincts of his house. And, although he did not house any disciples, food was provided for all those who visited the Shaikh.
monitored by the will of the Prophet who had advised him about the arrival of Saiyid Shāh and had ordered his taʿlīm (instruction) in the silsila of Saiyid Ḥasan in an earlier dream. This anecdote also informs us that the Shaikh first and foremost instructed his disciples in the learning of the traditional Islamic sciences (taḥṣil-i ʿulūm).

Then Shāh Ilāh Yār explains about Saiyid Ḥasan’s system of instruction to the author. In actuality the Shaikh spoke less, however, he would appear in the form of Prophet Muhammad and instruct about the business of the Prophet’s kalima. In his recital Shāh Ilāh admits that he had a doubt about this and was anxious for the verification of the same. He goes on to relate his experience to the compiler:

He [Shāh Ilāh Yār] said, “Because outwardly he [Saiyid Ḥasan] spoke less, but in the imagination [imaginal world?] he dispensed with the noble essence of the Prophet, May God grant him peace and salvation, together with the excellent kalima. He made signs to himself in that condition. I [Shāh Ilāh Yār] was pensive that in what manner will I conceive the essence of the Prophet? In the morning in a state of wakefulness I was sitting in the chamber facing the qibla (prayer niche), he said, “Behold! Be devoted to the noble essence”. When I gazed, the two pure and sanctified eyes [of the Prophet], which were extremely beautiful and perfect, became obvious. I was [absolutely] devoted, and from that very day I made [that] condition the way of my vocation.

through a community kitchen the expenditure for which was impressive even by medieval standards. Manāqib, p. 94.

108 Mafṣūṭ, II/118; Manāqib, pp. 413-414.

109 In fāʿiḥ 6 Muhammad Hāshim informs us that the Shaikh emphasised the study of taṣfīr, ḥadīṣ, fiqah, and usūl. According to the author of Rashahāt the quintessence of all the sciences is taṣfīr, ḥadīṣ, and fiqah; while the essence of all these is the knowledge of tasāwuf. Mafṣūṭ, 1/123; Manāqib, p. 203.

Shāh  Ilāh  Yār continued to have lingering doubts about the ability of his new Shaikh despite the latter’s tasarruf (exercise of the shaikh’s power in the affairs of the murīd) in enabling the Prophet’s vision for him. As Shāh  Ilāh  Yār sat facing the qibla, which is a symbol of the community’s leader, the Shaikh appeared before him and his eyes were superimposed by those of the Prophet. In other words, Saiyid  Ḥasan was the keeper of qibla, in fact in the eyes of his disciples his identification with Muhammad was absolute. He was indeed a guide to the Prophet.

Dreams further elaborate on the nature of relationship between Saiyid  Ḥasan and his disciples. Muhammad Ḥāshim once doubted this axiom of the Shaikh: God has told me that the one who shuns you (Saiyid  Ḥasan) has shunned Me, and the one who defies you has defied the Prophet. The compiler confesses that he verified the truth of this statement during the days of his studentship when he had not yet given up his profession for darweshī. Once the Shaikh dismissed someone from his gathering for apparently no reason. This disturbed the compiler who thought to himself that if the Shaikh did not wish to enlist murīds then it is needless to visit him. This resulted in fearful thoughts (khattrāt) which would not leave him despite his repentance, and he cried himself to sleep. Muhammad Ḥāshim narrates:

In a dream I [Muhammad Ḥāshim] saw as if I was standing in a house which is full of people. Suddenly a person appeared who had a pair of shoes tucked under his arm. That keeper of shoes addressed himself to someone in the gathering: “Prophet Muhammad is present in this house. These shoes have been removed from the blessed feet of the ḥusn-o-kamāl mas’ gasht. Khwud rā tasadduq mi-kardam wa az humān roz ḥālat rā tariq-i shughl khwud sākhtam. See Malfāżāt II/120; Manāqib, p. 416; see Appendix VI/12 for Persian text.
Prophet].” This person, the carrier of shoes, dusted the shoes so that dust is separated from these. He gave a little of that dust as benediction to each one [present] in that gathering. When it was the turn of this weak one, I put my hand forward. That dear one withdrew his hand [and said] “There has been a feebleness in your belief, therefore I will not give [it to] you”. I woke up due to the horror of that thought and the terror of this dream. Crying and trembling I reached the court (dargāh) of Ḥaẓrat Murshid. By chance, I came upon Miyān Muhammad Jamāl Khān, a scholar of philosophy and science. I related the entire incident to him. He asked me: “Is it that your faith towards Mīrān Jiyo has weakened? My infirmity became evident to me and I have experienced a similar incident.” I said, “Indeed, some langour is evident in the past relation.” He said, “Quickly, repent for there is great fear”. It was Thursday, I repented in my heart and left to be in his service. Before this, due to weakness of my faith, when I greeted he did not acknowledge me. That time he immediately responded to the greetings and asked about my past circumstance. And despite my non-expression about any sin or repentance, that condition was set aside.111

This dream has to be analyzed with reference to certain notices made elsewhere by the hagiographer. This will also convey a sense of inter linked narrative in the Malfūzāt which shall further emphasise the relevance of dreams in the system of our Uwaisī Shaikhh. In the sixth fā’īth the compiler explains that for thirteen or fourteen years he

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visited the Shaikh but was never granted the benefit of his *tawajjuh*.\(^{112}\) The reason for this was compiler’s preoccupation with thoughts of his livelihood rather than complete devotion to God. Disappointed with his own ability to secure the essence of mystic discipline, he even criticised his Shaikh’s actions in frustration. Apparently, it was the *taṣarruf* of the Shaikh that created fearful thoughts to his mind and he cried himself to sleep. In the dream that follows Prophet’s presence is only alluded to and at best is represented through the shoes that his messenger carries. The message of this dream is clear: one who maintains a weak faith in Saiyid Ḥasan shall be denied the good fortune (represented by shoe-dust) of Prophet’s benediction. The Prophet shall not appear in the dream of a person who doubts Saiyid Ḥasan’s ability as a guide.

Distressed on account of his dream Muhammad Hāshim sought his Shaikh. Fortunately, Hāshim meets Jamāl Khān, another *murīd* of Saiyid Ḥasan, who on basis of similar experience instructs him to repent for the weakness of his belief in the Shaikh. Miyan Jamāl Khān had some doubt about the Shaikh’s utterances in the early years of their association. This created an anxiety in him and he had a vision that he narrated for the benefit of Muhammad Hāshim:

One day I saw God and Prophet Muhammad, May God bless him and grant him salvation, and Ḥazrat Shāh (Saiyid Ḥasan) was standing before them. He had a light in his hand. Every time he opened his fist the light came and entered my heart and enlightened it. And every time he covered his hand it fell out from my heart and left, and returned into his blessed hand. The Prophet said: “This is the light of faith that has been

\[^{112}\text{mustaffir gardidand wa bawujūd ānki hich yaki az gunāh wa tauba zāhir na-kardam. Ān ḥālat barṭaraf shud. Malfūqaī, II/74-75; Manāqib, pp. 374-375; see Appendix VI/13.}\]

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given into his (Saiyid Ḥasan’s) hand. If he desires it will remain in you, and if he does not so will, it will disappear from you.” 113

Muhammad Hāshim has not specified the nature of this vision. Jamāl Khān simply introduces his vision with “I saw” (man dīdam). Nevertheless, the vision is self-explanatory. Since the Prophet’s speech is sacrosanct, words said by him in dream are law. Saiyid Ḥasan’s position as keeper of Muhammad’s faith is placed above doubt, and his will in the matter of Jamāl Khān’s faith is absolute. Recalling his own repentance and subsequent strengthening of his belief in Saiyid Ḥasan on account of this experience, Jamāl Khān renders the same advice to Muhammad Hāshim. Repentance for doubting one’s guide, that too on the auspicious day of Thursday, secures the attention of his Shaikh for Muhammad Hāshim. Another aspect of the shaikh - murīd relationship is made evident in this dream.

From the above anecdotes it should be clear that visions of Prophet Muhammad define the structure of Saiyid Ḥasan ‘Rasūlnumā’s’ belief and practice as an Uwaisī sufi. In an age when elaborate initiatic chains were considered hallmark of silsilas, Saiyid Ḥasan’s one link silsila with Prophet Muhammad, claimed on the basis of his visionary experience, was an attempt to create an alternate pattern of silsila association wherein physical contact between the master and disciple were to be replaced with spiritual

112 Cf. Mafīzūt, I/74; Manāqīb, p. 158.
113 Muhammad Hāshim records Jamāl Khān’s vision as he had heard from him: Rozi dīdam Ḥaqq-i sughāna wa zāt-i sharīf rā ṣallā allāh ’alayhi wa sallam wa muqābil-i ān Ḥazrat Shāh rā īstāda wa dar dast-i ḥshān niʿrī ast. Har gāh dast rā dam mī-kunad ān nīr āmāda dar dīl-i mā dākhī mī-shawad wa dīl rā munawwar mī-gardānd. Wa har gāh āndāsht rā mī-poshand az dīl bā-dar mī-rawad wa dar dast-i musārak-i ḥshān qarār mī-girād. Ḥazrat ṣallā allāh ’alayhi wa sallam mī-farmāyand ki, “In nīr-i imān
linkage between the initiator and the initiate. The visionary perceptions of Saiyid Ḥasan’s
disciples, however, continue even after his death. These dreams either state a premonition
of the Saiyid’s death or focus on defining the heavenly status of Saiyid Ḥasan. The
compiler has discussed these visions in the khātima of his work where he accounts for the
death of his pīr. One of the devoted murīds of Saiyid Ḥasan was Saiyid Raḥmatu’llāh
Sāmānī. He had served Saiyid Ḥasan ‘Rasūlnumā’ for several years. A couple of days
before the death of the Shaikh he had the following dream:

I saw in a vision that Ḥāzrat Mīrān Jiyo is girdling his waist and pointing towards the sky
and said that, “Raḥmatu’llāh we are (I am) going”. He brought down the red and white
striped tāqi from his head and put it on my head.114

In the above dream the phrase ‘kamar mī-bandad’ literally means readying oneself
for service, and symbolically it refers to the Shaikh’s journey into the other In the dream
Saiyid Ḥasan’s action of removing his cap (tāqi) and setting it on Raḥmatu’llāh’s head is
also symbolic of transmission of spiritual succession. Unlike, most other silsilas where
the Shaikh defined his principal successors by granting them khilāfatnāma with a details
of the shajara ‘i nasab drawing legitimate linkages that stretch back to the Prophet, Saiyid
Ḥasan’s successors have no such proof of spiritual claim. Therefore, the dream of
Raḥmatu’llāh Sāmānī and the symbolism of the transfer of the striped tāqi (a type of a

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114 Saiyid Raḥmatu’llāh Sāmānī farmūndand ki “Didam dar wāqi’a ki Mīrān Jiyo kamar mī-bandad wa
Ishāra ba-suwi āsmān namūda mī-farmūyad ki “Raḥmatu’llāh ma mī-rawīm”. Tāqi ba kharhayi’ surkh wa
saftid az sar-i khwud farod āwurda bar sar-i man nihādand”. See Malfūẓāt, 11/127; Ma‘āqib, p. 424;
Appendix VI/15 for Persian text.
high crowned hat) from the Shaikh’s head to that of the disciple, is of considerable significance and defines the mode of succession in the method of Saiyid Hasan.

The following two dream narratives indicate the high status accorded to Saiyid Hasan after his death. Muhammad Hāshim Sirhindī notes a brief dream that is incomplete but nevertheless worth citing for its interesting symbolism:

Another person from amongst the followers who was in the presence [of the Shaikh] also saw that he [Saiyid Hasan] has come for a visit seated on a magnificent elephant, and an assembly of martyrs has come for his welcome and he left this world with along with his disciples who were dead.\footnote{Shakhsl digar az mukhlisān ki dar ḥuẓūr būdā nīz ma’mūlat ki bar fīlī ‘azīm’ sh šān sawār-shuda, tashrif mī-dāshand wa jamā‘at-i shuhdā ba-īstaqhāl mī-ayand wa khwud ba-dīgarān wa yārān-i Saiyid ki az in ‘ālam raafa būdānd, mī-rawānd. See Malfūżāt, 11/127-128; Appendix VI/16 for Persian text. The Manāqīb presents a variation in the dream according to which the shaikh who is sitting on a magnificent elephant is welcomed by an assembly of martyrs and the he calls out to the people in a loud voice, “Look! There goes the leader of the times”. Cf. idem pp. 424-425.}

One of the new entrants to the wilāyat of the Shaikh related the following dream to the compiler:

Because I was a new comer I feared that people at the time of funeral and burial of the coffin etc. will wish me to carry it or not. In a vision I saw that Ḥaẓrat Mirān Jiyo, may God sanctify his secret, has died, and the coffin in which he was kept is made of gold and emerald, and its lustre is greater than the sheen of the sun, and I am holding one leg of that [coffin]. And when they carried it forward, the entire coffin is on my head. When he died the very same leg of the coffin that I had seen, I was carrying, until I reached near the grave. That place was narrow, I kept my head under the coffin in the same manner that I had seen in the vision, I carried [the coffin] until it was lowered it into the grave.\footnote{The new-comer in the wilāyat of Saiyid Hasan ‘Rasūlnamā’ relates that “Man chun nau āmada būdam ḥanf in dāshtam ki mardum dar waqīt-i tajhīz wa takwīn bāṭābīt waghairā dast rasūnīdan khwāhānd dād yā na. Dar wāqī’ā didām ki Ḥaẓrat Mirān Jiyo quddisa sirruhu wafāt karda wa dar tābūtī ki az talā wa}
Mîr Muhammad Hâshim has reported this vision along with other similar narratives that account for the pre-knowledge of the Shaikh’s death. It also expresses the apprehension of a new entrant into the spiritual domain of the Shaikh and about his acceptance by the senior murâds of Saiyid Ḥasan ‘Rasûlnumâ’. Under this circumstance the narrator experienced this vision in which he carries the dead body of his Shaikh, initially one of its ends and then the entire coffin, and lowers it into the grave. The subsequent death and participation of the new comer in the funeral rites of Saiyid Ḥasan confirm that the new comer had been confirmed acceptance in the inner circle of the Shaikh’s disciples in his vision. There is another significant feature related to the description of the dream coffin, which is made of gold and emerald that outshines the sun. This description is an indication of the reward bestowed upon the Shaikh in the afterworld. The entire narrative is reminiscent of another story wherein the cosmic significance of the coffin of Bâyazîd Bistâmî is described through a dream of the Shaikh’s disciple that was recorded a few centuries before this vision was put to pen.117 I may mention that immediately following this narrative there is a record of another dream in

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117 Abû Musa, a disciple of Bâyazîd Bistâmî (d. A.D. 874), sees the heavenly throne placed on his head in a dream. When he goes to relate the vision to his master, Bâyazîd Bistâmî, he finds that the Shaikh had died that very night. During the funeral Abû Musa, prevented by the crowd from carrying the coffin at one of its ends, puts his head under it while the procession is moving towards the cemetery. The dream had slipped his mind. Suddenly his master appeared to him and says: This is the meaning of last night’s dream. That heavenly throne is the body of Bâyazîd. See G. E von Grunebaum, “The Cultural Function of the Dream as Illustrated by Classical Islam” in R. Caillois and G. E von Grunebaum edited, The Dream and Human Societies, Berkley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966, p. 16.
which the heavenly status of Saiyid Ḥasan is clearly alluded to. Miyān Jamāl Khān had seen in a dream, a couple of days before the death of his Shaikh, that the angel of death had come dressed as a darwesh along with a group of beautifully dressed women who veiled their face from the dreamer. Jamāl Khān interpreted this vision not only as an indication of his Shaikh’s death but also as the confirmation of the latter’s place in Paradise.\(^{118}\)

In the thirteenth century Farīduddin `Aṭṭār was the first to mention Uwaisī sufis as a group of people who stand in no need of a living pir for they are looked after in the bosom of Prophethood, that is they obtain spiritual knowledge directly from Prophet Muhammad, without any intermediary, in the same way as Uwais Qaranī had done. In the fifteenth century Jāmī had elaborated on the definition of Uwaisīs: not only persons guided by the spirit of Muhammad, but those guided by the spirits of auliya’ allāh who in turn have walked in the footsteps of the Prophet, so that their disciples stand in no need of a living pir, were also Uwaisīs. By the seventeenth century there is a considerable expansion in this definition: Uwaisīs are not only guided by the spirits of Muhammad or dead saints, but they can also receive instructions from a living shaikh by evoking his tawajjuh. Saiyid Ḥasan’s spiritual experience is of the same category as of Uwais Qaranī, and hence is considered as the purest of its kind available amidst various styles of Uwaisī connections suggested in later definitions. However, Saiyid Ḥasan’s own conduct vis a vis his followers creates the scope of conveying his own spiritual affiliation with the

\(^{118}\) For this dream see Malāfīzāt, II/128; Manāqib, p. 425. For a discussion of common motifs in dreams that can be observed as rewards for the pious after death see Chapter I above.
Prophet to his disciples. In the process he goes on to augment the scope of Uwaisî style of Sufism. Saiyid Ḥasan possessed neither a natural nor a spiritual pedigree, thus the principle of hereditary succession proved persistent, however, perhaps due to the natural tendency to retain the material and spiritual prerogatives of religious authority within a given family. This was not unfashionable in Saiyid Ḥasan’s time. Hereditary shaikhs were the norm, rather than the exception, even in the silsila conscious Naqshbandiya.

In the view of the Sufism and sainthood manifest in the Malfūzāt-i Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlnūmā, the tarīqa is dependent upon the single ‘founder’s’ sanctity and charisma and not upon legitimation through a silsila linking the founder or his followers to the sacred origins of Islam. Saiyid Ḥasan re-defines the structural notion of the silsila. In his case it is the vision of the preceptor and not the genealogy which which functions as the source of legitimacy. In the Sufism of Saiyid Ḥasan the only pir worthwhile in his day is the Prophet Muhammad. Given the context of the seventeenth century Islam in India and the attempts for its revitalization, Saiyid Ḥasan’s visions of the Prophet acquire a tremendous significance. In absence of a spiritual genealogy Saiyid Ḥasan establishes a direct link with the Prophet through his visions and dreams. However, he is also conscious of the need to provide a scriptural sanctity and for this his hagiographer introduces the authority of the dreams in Islam on the basis of the Prophetic tradition. Further, sanctity is also created through the Shaikh’s visitation to the Qadamgāh Sharīf which was supposed to house a relic of the Prophet. In the system of Saiyid Ḥasan the revitalization process continues as it emphasizes the personal authority of the Prophet to whom he is the guide.
APPENDIX VI

نوتاب خان فیروزجنگ که مريد آيشان بود به خدمات آيشان عنوان نمود که سيد حسن رسولنا رحمت الله عليه هرکه مي خواستند به شرف زيارت مصلي سالم علیه و سلم مشرف همی ساختند. آيشان فرومودند ما هرکرا خوهيم دوبار شرف زيارت احترم به خوبان الله علیه و سلم دريابد. شما امشب فتحه خواننده متوجه به روحانيت مبكر به خواب رويده. وی همچنان كرد و بزيارت مشرف گشت. صد روپه هديه مقرر كرده بار ديگر فتحه خواننده بخواب رفت، باز به اين سعادت امتياز یافت. صد روپه ديگر هديه مقرر نمودنه وقت صبح به خدمات آيشان حاضر شد. صد روپه پيش آورد كه الحمد الله به توجه شریف به اين دولت سرفازي یافتم آيشان به نور فراست دربافته فرومودند آنصورت دوم کجاست؟ وی مضطر شده اينها پيش گذارند.

آنحضرت مرا به حضرت ابی بكر رضي الله سهرودنده كه چند مدت تربيت بکنيد بعد از آن من تربيت خواهم كرد نمود همين قسم حق سبحانه به آنحضرت صلی الله علیه و سلم فرومود كه چند مدت تربيت بکنيد، بعد از آن متروب خواهم كرد.

شما را غير از زهد خشكچي حاصل نخواهم شد و بخدا رسيدن مشکل مي نماید. به مجرد استماع اين تعبير دردي در شكم پيماشده، بسوى چشم ما ابي قصد كردن، اطلاق واقع شد جامه و ازار ملونگ گردید. در آن چشم ازار شويندین را مشغول فروموده مراجعه نمودند كه آن تعبير پايد آمد. آهيه دردناكر از سينه به سينه برآمده كه آه من خدا را نخواهم یافتم. باز از
قول ان اطلاع واقع شد باعث غفلت فرمودند. چون گامی چند زده، باز همان تعبیر یاد آمد، همان حال مذکور روي آورد. تا به یست و هفته مرتبه از الم آن تعبیر اطلاع واقع شد، حتی گنی لاحق گرديد. در خواب ديدن سرور کنانات را صلی الله علیه و آله و سلم بر چيزی سوار و در قربت آن مکان درخت خرماست و ز غایت ارتفاع تا دست آن درخت دمده به چه تقویت آن ساخته‌اند. ذات شریف صلی الله علیه و سلم به انگشت مبارک به جانب آن درخت اشاره نموده بر زبان معجزه‌بان و لسان درنشان آوردندکه این درخت به این ارتفاع از مقد این دمده رسول‌امست، دریافت نمودند که مراد از این عبارت تسلیتست به یعنی ارتفاع این درخت موقوف به این دمده است، ارتفاع مراتب معارف تو موقوف بر مرامست و چنانچه از تقویت آن دمده درخت را اسباب‌نمی‌رسد. هرکه را مدع و معاون باشم چگونه آسیب خواهد رسید برخاسته درودگفت در شكريه اين بشارت ادا نمودند.

در همان ايام در واقع ديدنکه حضرت نبوي صلی الله علیه و سلم بر کرمسی نشته‌اند و خانمی در دست دارنده در آن اسم الله منقوش ست و نور آن خانه مثل نور آفتاتاب ست می‌تابد که پیش طلبته فرمودنده که اسم الله را همچنان نگاه باید داشت و خانم مبارک را بر چشم راست من نهادند، چنانچه بر موم بگذارند. شعله نور خانم چنان در چشم من فروخت که شعله آتش در موم، دود وي از چشم بدر رفت. نقش الله پیدا شد باز دست مبارک را بر چشم چپ نهادند، همان قسم دود از چشم نيز خارج شد و در آن چشم نيز همان نقش هویدا شد. باز دست مبارک مظهر را بر دل نهادند، همان نقش در دل درآمد و دود ظلمت بدر رفت و همان اسم مکرم و مظالم ظاهر و باهر شد. چون بیدار شددم درين هر نم جا اسم الله را منقوش پيافت، چك ساعت و چکدم از نظر غایب نمي‌شد.

در واقع ديدنکه ذات شریف صلی الله علیه و سلم در جانب پیسار من و جمع انیابا و دیگر علی نبیت و علیهم السلام در جانب بعین من صف بسته استاده‌اند و در مقابل ممن حسینه
تجلي فرموده بشارت داده که ما پر از بین حفظ داشتند، بنابرهم که یک طرف تو جمع انبیا و مهربانه به یک طرف دیگر تو خاطم الأنبياء صلى الله عليه و سلم و همین قسم چند مرتبه فرمودند باز بهمین قسم ذات شریف صلی الله علیه و سلم چند مرتبه فرمودند. بخاطر فقیر خیال می‌رسد که چون دل به جانب یسار ست و آن مصدار معارف از همان جناب مقدس مظهر متقن بوده، بنابر آن ذات مبارک نبوی به جهت تعلیم و تأثیر نظر مبارک به جانب یسار توقف فرموده.

بودند. و الله اعلم.

6

دیدم در درگاه شیخ نصیرالدین حبر دهلی قدس سره مجلس عرس استو و من در آن مجلس سماع می‌کنیم. یک‌بارک دیدم که در دامن خلت نوشته‌نامه که پادشاه و فاریجینه و ممالک محروم. در آن درگاه نویت می‌زنند. من ندا داده که برای ما نویت بزنید که حالا نویت ماست آن نویت برای من می‌زنن. گفتم ترازا این چه حاصل باز ندا در دام که باش! آن نویت ساکت نشده همان قسم نواخته می‌شد.

7

در پهلواری در مجلس عرس نشسته بوده و شیخ نورالدین که یکی از آمیان بوده نیز تودیک نشسته بوده که یک‌بارک دیدم که مثل جنرل باشنه جنرل آورده و برسر من استاده کردن و گفتن که این جنرل ذات شریف صلی الله علیه و سلم که تراعیت شده. من خشکه شیخ مذکور را نیز در آن سایه کشیدم. رنگ شیخ از دیدن این حال جالب متغیر گشت.

8

شیعی دیدم ذات شریف صلی الله علیه و سلم را به کینگرهای دروازه قدمگاه ایوبینی می‌سازند و می‌فرمائند که این ایوان برای بودن تو می‌سازیم کریبت از مرز باشند. انتخاب.

3
نمونه که مرا چه قدرت است که قدم‌گاه درستی باشد و من در بلندی چای گرم، باز همین فرمودند و من همین جواب به عرض اقدام، اعلی می‌رسانم، چون بیدار شدم تائید خوردم که جواب برخلاف امر از من صادر شد.

وقتی حضرت را صلی الله علیه و سلّم در خواب دیدم، فرمودند که امیس فرهنی میشوند.

التماس نمودم که هیچ چیزی نسبتی کرم الله بر نیایم ست. همین قسم ست ماکر فرمودند. می‌گوید مؤلف ضعیف که از سخته کرده و از بعضاً علائم دیگر، چنانچه فلک استوان و غير اینکه سابقه نوشته شده است معلوم می‌شود که بی‌رغم حضرت اویس مشرف شده بودند و راهی اویس را نیز راعی بودند. چنانچه رعایت تصفیة قلب خطاب با اشراق پاتن مرجع بود و در ظاهر راهی مشیحت اصلا درمیان نبود.

در شبی از شیهای جمعه حضرت مرشد قずっと را در خواب دیدم که هر دو گفت بنده را به دست مبارک خود گرفته و لب خود را بر لب فقیر نهاده به یا تام دم فرمودند. اثر آن در سیبی بن در هرین موزی مستوابی شد، لیکن به سبب بانگیز اثرات زد روح به فضور نتوانست رشد. باز در واقع دیدم که بر دریای رسودام، بر یک آن دریا برآمدم به اراده وضو، چون بر زینه‌ها به آن یل رفته و شروع در وضع کرد که یک‌بار پایان می‌خورد و در بر انتخاب نگاه شناسی بیدا شد و بر گنار دریا برآی یک سوار کرد و عنوان آنها kms می‌طلعت می‌کرد حضرت مرشد ساسانی. مردم بسیار از خدمت رخصت می‌شندند. فقیر را نیز اشاره فرمودند که احوال خود را عرض کن، عرض کرد که در باب فقیر به حکم است. فرمودند، هرکس را که ذوق کچهاری خورد را باشد فردا یک وقت دوپه‌بیاید.

۱۱

علي الصباحی در جایی که می‌بودم با صاحب‌اندجای نجشی درمیان آمد؛ ترک آن مقام نموده‌ام در همان وقت به خدمت رسیدم، عرض احوال کردم، فرمودند به دو نان و کچهاری خود را بگیرد.
به‌خوان‌دن مقیم باش. مردم متعجب گردیدند که چگونه به این سرعت داخل خادمان فرمودند.

فرمودن چون در ظاهر ارتش کم می‌فرمودند مگر بتصور ذات شریف صلی الله علیه و سلم

مع اشتغال کلمه طبیعه و تصدیق تمام خود را در آن حالت اشارات می‌فرمودند. ویفرک برودم

که بجه طریق تصور ذات نیوی نمایه که وقت صبح بر بیداری مستقیل قیله در جهان نشسته

بوده که فرمودند اینک بر ذات شریف تصدیق شد. چون نگاه کردم از چهاره مارک هردو چشم

مظهر مقدس به گریخت حسین و جمال مرنی گشته، خود را تصدیق می‌کرد و از همان روز

حالت را طریقه شغل خود ساخته.

در خواب دیدم که گریه‌ای در مکانی که اینود مردم است ایستاده‌انه که یک شخصی بی‌پدایش که

در پیل اوج تخت موش و همان موش دارد یا از جامعه شخصی دیگر می‌گوید که حضرت

صلی الله علیه و سلم در درن مکان تشیب فرمودند و این موزه‌ها را پای مبارک فرود

آوردند. اندمید حامل موش آن موزه‌ها را بیفندان تازه که گرد از آنها جدای. بن گردید. این گرد را اندک

اندک تبکارا نبینی تبرک یکی از آن جامعه مد نداده که نویب باپین ضعیف رسد. چون من دست

دراز کردم آن عزیز دست خود را کشیده که اعتقاد سست شده است. چون نسیم بهم. فقیر

برخواست از هول آن خطرات و از همیت این خواب گریبان و ارزان بدرگه حضرت مرشد

رستید که اتفاق ملاقات به عالم علی و بیان میان جمال خان اعتقاد این تمام ماجرا را پایان

گفتیم ایشان فرمودند که ملانی در اعتقاد تو که به جناب میران جیو بوشه فتوری خود واقع

نشده، بر من همین فس ماجرا گذشتیم. گفتیم آری مسی نسل سابق پیدا است. است.

گفتندند زود یاده که خوف عظیم است. روز پنچستی بوده که در دل نیو کردم و به خدمت

رفتم. پسی از نیکه از آن مسئولی اعتقاد سلام می‌کردند، اتفاق نسیم فرمودند. در آن وقت به

مجرد رسیدن جواب سلام دادند و از احوال به دستور سابق مستفری گردیدند و باوجود ائتمه
هیچ یکی از گنگه و توبه ظاهر نکردم. انتقالت برطرف شد.

روزی دیدم حقی سبحانه و ذات شریف صلی الله علیه و سلم و مقابل آن حضرت شاه را ایستاده و در دست ایشان نوری است. هرگاه دست را دم می کنم آن نور آمدی در دل من داخل می شود و دل را منوز می گردد. و هرگاه آن داشت را می پوشندند از دل به در می رود و در دست مبارک ایشان قرار می گیرد. حضرت صلی الله علیه و سلم می فرمایند که «این نور ایمان است که در دست ایشان داده‌اند. اگر نخواهند در تو خواهد بود و اگر نخواهند در تو زایل خواهد بود.

سپید رحمت الله سامانی فرموند که «این دیدم در واقعه که حضرت میرانجی کم مر تنند و اشاره به سوی آسمان نموده می فرمایند که رحمت الله ما را روحی طاقی با خطه‌ای سرخ و سفید از سر خود فرد اورده بر سر من نهادند.»

شخصی دیگری از مخلصان که در حضور دیده نبوده که برایی عظیم انسان سوار شده، تشريف می داشتند و جمعت شهدا باستقبالی می آیند و خود با دیگران و یاران سید که زین عالم رفته بودند می روند.

من جون نو آمدم بودم خوف این داشتیم که مردم در وقت تجهیز و تکفین به تابوت و غیره داشت رسانیدند خواهند داد با نه در واقع دیدم که حضرت میران جیو قدس سریر وفات کرده و در تابوتی که از طلا و زینور ساخته شعاعی آن زیاده بر شعاعی آفتاب است نگاه داشتند و از یک بابی آن به من گرفته‌ام و جون بیشتر برده‌ام تمام آن تابوت برسر من است. جون واقع شد از همان پایه که دیده بودم تا آنکه برسر قبر رسیدم آنجا چنین گردنی کرد من در زیر تابوت
سر خود را به همان کیفیت در واقع دیده بودم، داده برداشتم تا آنکه در قیب فرود آوردم.